

JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY

VOL. 6

JANUARY, 1913

No. 1

"NEW RELIGIONS" AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, ETC.

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INTRODUCTORY

One of the most interesting topics in the history of human civilization is the question of "new religions," and closely related phenomena. By "new religions" is here meant such religious ideas and movements, propaganda, etc., as spring up among more or less primitive or uncivilized peoples, particularly after their contact with the so-called "higher" races. The "new religion" is often largely, and sometimes almost wholly, the result of the suggestions of the religious ideas introduced by missionaries and other representatives of the intrusive culture. Such "new religions" are on record in all parts of the globe. Among the most recent examples are the "new religions" of the Kalmucks of the Altai region of Siberia and of the Bontoc Igorot of the Philippines.

(a) *The Kalmuck "prophet" of 1904.* One of the most interesting of all recent "new religions" is that promulgated among the Kalmucks, etc., of the Altai, in 1904, which flourished greatly until suppressed by the Russian authorities instigated thereto by the clergy of the orthodox church. Advantage was taken of the unsettled state of mind of the Altaian tribes and their imagined or real leaning towards the Japanese in the late war to spread abroad the rumor that these natives were going to rise and slaughter all the Russians. So, one night, while the Kalmucks were engaged in religious exercises, they were surrounded and surprised by the Russian peasants (aided

by the Kirghiz, the hereditary enemies of the Kalmucks). They were forced to disperse, a few being shot. Their leader was captured and sent to Ust-Kan, to be tried on the charge of having sought to mislead his people and of setting himself up as a prophet. The trial was to take place early in 1906, and D. A. Klemenetz, the ethnographer, whose evidence as expert was sought by the government, gave an account of the movement in an address before the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. The Russian censorship prevented the publication of a Ms. by Hr. Ackerblom (1), who observed the movement personally, but, over the signature B. A., there is given in *Globus* (Vol. 89, pp. 220-221) a *résumé* of his description.

The "prophet" was an old Altai Kalmuck named Tsheta Tshelpany, a poor man, who hired himself out as herdsman and cattle-dealer, and from time to time traveled all over the Altai country and Mongolia. In May, 1904, he appeared as a "prophet," in the stronghold of shamanism, declaring that the old bloody sacrifices, with their cries and howlings, were an injury to God, and should be abolished, and henceforth lifeless objects only be offered,—penance also should take the place of the old prayers. The "prophet" was ably assisted by his adopted daughter, a bright and eloquent girl of 14 years, who interpreted his doctrine to the people, telling them, in her preaching, that, unless the Kalmucks accepted the doctrine of her father, the end of the world would come (the sky would open, the mountains would fall down, fire would descend from heaven, and all things be destroyed). The "new religion" had an immediate effect upon the shamans, many of whom, in new religious fervor, gathered together their costumes, magic drums and other "tools" of the trade, and burned them to ashes. Even the idols, except the "good" one, went the same road.

One of the doctrines of the "prophet" was that his daughter was able to call down a spirit of divine power, which revealed itself only to the elect, who prayed and sacrificed, not through the shamans, but through him (the "prophet"), who was the only interpreter of the will of this spirit, and to whom the sacrifice should be offered.

The followers of the "prophet" erected for him a special *yurt*, to which came the pilgrims. He himself built, at the foot of a mountain, a little prayer-house. Around this he planted birches, between which he set up little tables; on these he offered up cheese, milk and wine. Great crowds came to see him, and to worship at the sacred place. When surprised by the Russians and Kirghiz, the Kalmuck worshipers stood beside young birches, with sprigs of the Altai heath-plant in their hands, waiting for the performance of a miracle. The Russian peasantry seem to have been unaffected by the movement otherwise than to see in it some deep-laid Japanese plot.

How much of the adventurer and how much of the real religious reformer was in this Kalmuck prophet is not known. It has been thought that, during his travels, he may have come into contact more or less with Lamaistic ideas (the Astrakhan Lama also visited the Altai in 1904). To Lamaistic influence might point such things as the absence even of knives, the use of white garments in prayer, the bloodless sacrifice. Whatever may have been the cause of the appearance of this "new religion," however, it is of considerable importance ethnologically and psychologically and its untimely end at the hands of the Russian authorities is much to be regretted.

(b) *The "Supalado" faith of the Bontoc Igorot.* In his excellent monograph on the Bontoc Igorot, one of the primitive peoples of the Philippine Islands, Dr. A. E. Jenks informs us (20, p. 204):

"In the western pueblos of Alap, Balili, Genugan, Takong, and Sagada there has been spreading for the past two years a changing faith. The people allying themselves with the new faith call themselves Su-pa-la-do, and those who speak Spanish say that are 'guardia de honor'."

The *supaladoists* are said to have given up the ceremonials connected with the old faith, and, while they continue to eat meat, they wash it and cleanse it thoroughly before cooking. They "keep a white flag flying from a pole near their dwelling, or at least one such flag in the section of the pueblo in which they reside." Another feature of their faith is belief in the approaching return of Lumawig, the god and culture-hero of the Igorot.

The leading spirit of this "new religion" is said to be a Tinguian man of the pueblo of Payyao (Lepanto), near Agawa (Bontoc). As to the origin of the *supalado* religion, Dr. Jenks remarks, "it is believed to be a movement taking its rise from the restless Roman Catholic Ilokano of the coast." But this is not clear. In Bontoc pueblo, itself, we are told, "the thought of the return of Lumawig is laughed at."

(c) *The Olot faith of the Bontoc Igorot.* In Bontoc pueblo, Dr. Jenks states, "two families, one that of Finumti, the tattooer, and the other that of Kayyad, a neighbor of Finumti, have a touch of a changing faith; they are known in Bontoc as *Olot*." The *olot* are said not to eat meat, not to kill chickens,

not to smoke and not to perform any of the old ceremonies. Dr. Jenks was unable to trace any connection between the *olot* and the *supalado* (though suggesting such), and observes further: "I do not believe they, or in fact the *supalado*, neglect all ceremonials, because such a turning from a direct, positive and very active religious life to one of total neglect of the old religious ceremonials would seem to be impossible for an otherwise normal Igorot" (p. 205). The "end of the world," as in the Kalmuck movement, and "the return of the god or culture-hero," as with the Igorot of Bontoc, are prominent features in many of these "new religions" all over the globe. Sometimes these features belong to the native mythological stock, and sometimes they have been the result of contact with the religious teachings of "higher" races in some form or other. Among the American aborigines, in particular, several other noteworthy features occur.

The "new" development in religion has occasionally taken the form of a claim that the Christian religion, as preached by the missionaries, was originally in possession, e. g., of the Indians, from whom it was obtained, in somewhat degenerate fashion, by the whites, who also stole from them their sacred records, i. e., the Bible. This idea has turned up in divers regions of the earth, from the Cherokee of Carolina to the Fijis of the South Pacific Ocean. This same idea that, in some way or other, at the creation, or during the allotment or distribution of the chief possessions of mankind, the white race, outwitted or took advantage of the red men, occurs in a number of cosmogonic and sociologic tales and legends from various regions of the New World.

Among many American Indian tribes doctrines curiously resembling the teachings of the white missionaries as to the life and deeds of Jesus, Paradise lost, and the second coming of Christ, were indigenous and had, in some cases, been given extended form and content long previous to white contact,—on the highest level in this respect was the ancient Mexican Quetzalcoatl, on the lower, such figures as the Algonkian Gluskap and Manabozho. It was easy, therefore, for native "prophets" and "medicine-men" of the better sort to set themselves up as the receivers of special revelations from the "Great Spirit," and to announce that the spirits of their ancestors were

about to rise in their might and drive the intruding white men into the sea, or exterminate them altogether, after which the Indians were to come again into full possession of the land to retain it forever.

This idea of the assistance and inspiration of the ancestral spirits really lay beneath very many of the great Indian "rebellions" and "revivals" from the famous revolt of the Pueblos in 1680, under the leadership of the Tewa medicine-man Popé to the remarkable "Ghost-Dance Religion," which, in 1890-1896 spread like wild-fire among the tribes of the western plains, etc. Another name, by which it is also known, "the *Messiah* doctrine," is significant of its content. The coming of an *Indian* "Messiah," who was to save the Indians from the whites, is a common feature of these Indian "new religions," one of which, the so-called "Ghost Dance," has been made the subject of an elaborate monograph by Mr. James Mooney, the American ethnologist. In some cases, it is a feature of the doctrines preached by the "prophets" of these "new" religions that, when the world should come to an end, the color of the skin would be changed; the Negro, e. g., would become white, the white man black, etc. Other "revenges" of the lower races against the higher are also to be met with in the details of the utterances of "prophets" and would-be Messiahs. Where the Indians and the French were on especially good terms, the Great Spirit is represented as condemning the English altogether (as was the case, e. g., with the Delaware prophet of 1862). Some of the northern Indians, as Mooney notes, showed discrimination against the Americans, it being taught that the Indians, English, French and Spaniards were all children of the Great Spirit, while of the Americans the "prophet" reports him as saying "They are not my children, but the children of the evil spirit. They grew from the scum of the great water when it was troubled by an evil spirit and the froth was driven into the woods by a strong east wind. They are numerous, but I hate them. They are unjust; they have taken away your lands, which were not made for them." Sometimes (cf. Paiute "new religion" of 1870) the message from the Great Spirit declares that all the whites will be destroyed, but all their possessions will remain unharmed to be enjoyed to the full by the Indians. The "prophecies" and kindred perform-

ances of some of these Indian medicine-men, propagators of "new religions," etc., are quite remarkable,—the "Shawnee prophet's" use of his knowledge of a coming eclipse, the "earth-quake" of Tecumseh, and the winter-thunder of the old Carrier shaman, etc.

NORTH AMERICA

Some of the more important and interesting "new religions" among North American Indian tribes, antedating the great "Ghost Dance" movement are considered in the following pages. The importance of the phenomena here discussed has been recognized by a few anthropologists and sociologists.

In his Vice-Presidential address before the Anthropological Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1894 (8), and later again in his *The Mind of Primitive Man* (9, p. 112, 113), Dr. Franz Boas called attention to the fact that "originality is a trait which is by no means lacking in the life of primitive people." As an example, he noted "the great frequency of the appearance of prophets among newly converted tribes, as well as among pagan tribes; among the latter we learn quite frequently of new dogmas which have been introduced by such individuals; it is true that these may often be traced to the influence of the ideas of neighboring tribes, but they are modified by the individuality of the person, and grafted upon the current beliefs of the people." One of the best instances of the exercise of such "independent thought" he finds in "the history of the ghost-dance ceremonies in North America," as they have been reported by Mooney (25),—"the doctrines of the ghost-dance prophets were new, but based on the ideas of their own people, their neighbors and the teachings of missionaries." He is further of opinion that "the mental attitude of individuals, who thus develop the beliefs of a tribe is exactly that of the civilized philosopher." In both cases the philosophy is the result of the personality of its originator and the current of thought of his age. Vierkandt, in his study of the variations of human culture has also emphasized the functions of "führende Geister" among primitive peoples as well as civilized races, both in his monograph, *Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel* (36) and in a special article dealing with this topic.

This "independence of thought" among the American

Indians was noticed by some of the early historians. Dr. Boas (9, p. 113), e. g., remarks: "The same independent attitude may be observed in the replies of the Nicaraguan Indians to the questions regarding their religion as were put to them by Bobadilla, and which were reported by Oviedo." And in the *Jesuit Relations* there are similar facts recorded concerning the Iroquois tribes of Canada.

For the purposes of the present paper, the "new religions" discussed are arranged roughly in chronological order, beginning with the Pueblos outbreak of 1680, and ending with those preceding the great outbreak of the "Ghost Dance Religion," so well treated by James Mooney in his monograph on that subject.

1. *The Pueblo "new religion" and revolt of 1680.* As Mooney (25, p. 659) remarks, "the great revolt of the Pueblo Indians in August, 1680, was one of the first determined efforts made by the natives on the northern continent to throw off the yoke of a foreign oppressor." The action of the Spaniards, and particularly, the prohibitions and interferences of the priests, together with the failure of the religion of the white man "to bring more rain on the crops, or to turn aside the vengeful Apache," had aroused the opposition of the Pueblo tribes, who "had early welcomed the coming of the Spaniards, with their soldiers and priests, as friends who would protect them against the wild marauding tribes about them and teach them the mysteries of a greater 'medicine' than belonged to their own kachinas." The great revolt which ensued had a large religious element in it,—its chief figure played the rôles both of "medicine-man" or "prophet" and of despot. The leader was one Popé, a Tewa "medicine-man," born in the Pueblo of San Juan, who first became prominent about 1675. He prepared himself in the "prophet's" way. In the words of Mooney (25, p. 659):

"Popé, a medicine man of the Tewa, had come back from a pilgrimage to the far north, where he claimed to have visited the magic lagoon of Shipapu, whence his people traced their origin, and to which the souls of their dead returned after leaving this life. By these ancestral spirits he had been endowed with occult powers and commanded to go back and rouse the Pueblos to concerted effort for deliverance from the foreign yoke of the strangers. Wonderful beings were these spirit messengers. Swift as light, and impalpable as thought, they passed under the earth from the magic lake to the secret subterranean chamber of the oracle, and

stood before him as shapes of fire, and spoke, telling him to prepare the strings of yucca knots and send them with the message to all the Pueblos far and near, so that in every village the chiefs might untie one knot from the string each day, and know, when they came to the last knot, that then was the time to strike."

The plans were so well laid and the secret so well kept that, on the tenth of August, 1680, the white men were completely taken by surprise, many priests, soldiers and civilians killed, and the rest forced to retire, so that by October of the same year "there remained not a single Spaniard in all New Mexico." Concerning Popé himself Bandelier (6, p. 111) writes:

"Po-pe was a magician, one of the 'Pato-abu,' equivalent among the Tehuas, to the 'Ka-ka' among the Zuñis. He learned from the Yutes, and probably from the northern Navajos, many of their tricks, and, when he held it to be safe enough, he returned to Taos, where he began to perform in secret some of the new juggleries which he had been taught. His residence in the Northeast and North gave him a pretext for claiming that he carried a special mission, intrusted to him by powers residing in the lagoon of Ci-bo-be or Shi-pap-u, whence the northern pueblos claim to have come, and whither the souls of their deceased are said to go for eternal enjoyment. His fame spread slowly and secretly. Indians of distant pueblos, even from Zuñi, went to see him and to observe his prodigies. They did not fail to report them at home, and thus to create a belief that Po-pe was indeed endowed with extraordinary powers from 'those above,' and that the time had come for their delivery from a useless foreign domination. This time the Moquis yielded also, so did Zuñi, and Po-pe could at last fix upon a date for a general outbreak. It was set for the new moon of August, 1680."

The subsequent events, when the Spaniards had retreated are thus described by F. W. Hodge, in his brief biography of Popé:

"Having accomplished this much, Popé set about to realize the rest of his dream. Those who had been baptized as Christians were washed with yucca suds; the Spanish language and all baptismal names were prohibited; where not already consumed by the burning of the churches, all Christian objects were destroyed, and everything done to restore the old order of things. This project of obliterating everything Spanish from the life and thought of the Indians met with the same enthusiasm as that with which the plan of revolt had been received, and for a time Popé, dressed in ceremonial garb, as he went from pueblo to pueblo, was everywhere received with honor."

But success seems to have turned Popé's head. He assumed the rôle of a despot, we are told, and "put to death those who

refused to obey his commands, and took the most beautiful women for himself and his captains." After internal dissensions among the pueblos and attacks of their enemies (Apaches and Utes), Popé was deposed by the Tewa. But in 1688 he seems to have been elected again. His death occurred some time before the conquest of the country by the Spaniards under Vargas in 1692.

2. *Delaware "new religions" of the 18th century.* The Delaware Indians of the Algonkian stock, among whom the Moravian missionaries labored in the eighteenth century, seem to have been rather prolific in "prophets" and "new religions." Says Thompson (35, p. 317):

"About the middle of the last century, there arose, especially among the Delaware Indians, a class of men claiming to be prophets, who like Mohammed and Swedenborg, pretended to be translated at times to heaven, and to have immediate revelations from the Great Spirit. It was manifestly a device to counteract the influence of Christianity, from which some ideas were borrowed, in order to supersede it."

He remarks further, as to their teachings, etc.:

"At first they taught a morality superior to that prevailing among their people, but soon failed in practice themselves. They anticipated the Mormonism of our days, alleging that on their part polygamy was a work of mercy, because union with such eminent friends of the Great Spirit as they were would contribute to the salvation of women. Another dogma taught by these Manicheans of the woods, was that, in order to be saved, one must beat out his sins with 12 rods of as many different kinds of wood, beginning at the feet and working upward, till all iniquities issued suddenly from the neck; or else one must completely expel sins by 12 various emetics."

Some of these "prophets" recanted their doctrines and died (e. g. Papunhank in 1775) as good Christians under the influence of the missionaries.

3. *The Delaware "new religion" of 1762.* In the year 1762, a "prophet," whose name has not come down to us, made his appearance among the Delaware Indians of Tuscarawas, on the river Muskingum. This man was personally known to the missionary Heckewelder, who gave a detailed account of his doctrines and teachings, which are also on record in Schoolcraft and Mooney. This unknown "prophet" is of special importance, since, as may be read in Parkman, his "vision" was told by Pontiac to the Indians at the great council held near Detroit in April, 1763. Concerning this event Mooney

(25, p. 668) observes: "The religious ferment produced by the exhortations of the Delaware prophet spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, until, under the guidance of the master mind of the celebrated chief, Pontiac, it took shape in a grand confederacy of all the northwestern tribes to oppose the further progress of the English."

The "Delaware prophet" claimed that he had visited the land of spirits and seen the Master of Life himself, who "commanded him to exhort his people to cease from drunkenness, wars, polygamy, and the medicine song." He was also given "a prayer, carved in Indian hieroglyphics upon a wooden stick, which he was told to deliver to his chief on returning to earth." This prayer was to be learned by heart and taught to all the Indians and their children, being repeated morning and evening. The Indians were also told to "drive from your land these dogs in red clothing [i. e. the English]." The Master of Life likewise bade them give one another in greeting the left hand, rather than the right, because "with it went the heart." Another commandment was that the Indians should "put off entirely from themselves all the customs which they have adopted since the white people came among them," returning to their former "happy state of peace and plenty." The "Delaware prophet" seems to have resembled the late Mrs. Eddy, in one respect at least, for he had a "book," copies of which he disposed of to his people at "one buckskin or two doeskins apiece." Every family, at least, he taught, ought to have the "book." This "book" appears to have been a sort of map on a piece of deerskin, called by him, according to Heckewelder, "the great Book or Writing,"—the figures or hieroglyphics on which had been drawn by him under the direction of the Great Spirit. He said that he had been ordered to show it to the Indians, so that "they might see the situation in which the Manitto had originally placed them, the misery which they had brought upon themselves by neglecting their duty, and the only way that was now left them to regain what they had lost." It is said that he usually concluded his discourse with a request of his auditors to buy this wonderful "book," or "heavenly map" and guide for this life and the life to come. Of this "new religion" Mr. Mooney says (25, p. 665), "although the story as here given bears plain impress

of the white man's ideas it is essentially aboriginal." It is, in fact, a quaint mixture of undoubtedly Indian elements, with others as certainly caught up from contact with the Europeans.

4. *The Micmac "new religion" of 1770.* About the year 1770, in the Mirimichi country of New Brunswick, a Micmac Indian, named Abistanaooch (i. e. the Marten) is said to have announced that he was God and set about changing the religion of his day,—the Indians of course, had long been under Christian influences,—with such success that a whole village accepted his doctrines. As recorded by Rand (30, p. 230):

"He introduced new doctrines, new forms of worship, and new customs. Dancing was introduced into their worship; day was turned into night and night into day, as they slept in the daytime and had their prayers and did their work in the night."

He is also said to have "succeeded in obtaining so much reverence for himself that people would come in where he sat concealed from view behind a curtain, and would reverently kiss his feet, which were left exposed for that purpose."

The following story is told of him on one occasion:

"One of his sons refused to obey his father, the pretended deity, neglected worship altogether, and indulged in unbridled iniquity. He was often reproved, rebuked, and exhorted by the others, all to no purpose. Finally his father was informed of his son's misdeeds,—that he was becoming a very demon, and would certainly soon be in hell. The old man said he could tell whether their complaints and accusations were just or not; so, taking a large book, he read for a while, and then, closing it with great force, he shouted, 'Let him be so!' This was repeated three times, and the young man sat unharmed by his side. Thereupon the father declared him to be belied, reproached his accusers, and sent them away."

The "new religion" came to an untimely end, when an uncle of Abistanaooch, rushed into his wigwam, tore the curtain to shreds and gave his nephew a sound thrashing with a bundle of rods which he had provided for the purpose. He then exhorted the man and his followers to send for a priest and do proper penance for their sins. The result was that "a priest was called, penance was submitted to; and all parties, not excluding Abistanaooch himself, were reclaimed and pardoned." Doubtless, if all happenings among the various Indian tribes since the advent of white missionaries were on record, many other similar instances of temporary "new religions" would be brought to light.

Father Le Clercq, in his account of Gaspesia and its Indians, published in 1691, complains of the way in which the Indians (Miemacs) of that country imitated the priests and nuns of the Catholic church (22, p. 229). To cite his own words:

"As our Indians perceive that much honor is accorded to the missionaries, and that they have given themselves in respect and reverence the title of Patriarch, some of these barbarians have often been seen meddling with, and affecting to perform, the office and functions of missionary, even to hearing confession, like us, from their fellow-countrymen. So, therefore, when persons of this kind wish to give authority to that which they say, and to set themselves up as patriarchs, they make our Gaspeians believe that they have received some particular gift from heaven, as in the case of one from Kenebec, who said that he had received an image from heaven. This was, however, only a picture, which had been given him when he was trading with our French."

Concerning the Miemac women we are told:

"It is a surprising fact that this ambition to act the patriarch does not only prevail among the men, but even the women meddle therewith. These, in usurping the quality and the name of *religieuses*, say certain prayers in their own fashion, and affect a manner of living more reserved than that of the commonalty of Indians, who allow themselves to be dazzled by the glamor of a false and ridiculous devotion. They look upon these women as extraordinary persons, whom they believe to hold converse, to speak familiarly, and to hold communication with the sun, which they have all adored as their divinity."

Father Le Clercq gives (pp. 230-233) an account of one of these Indian "women patriarchs," her sacred paraphernalia, etc.

5. *The Eskimo "new religion" of 1790.* Not the least interesting section of Knud Rasmussen's book *The People of the Polar North* (31, pp. 250-253) is devoted to a brief account of "the great revival in Evighedsfjörd" (South Greenland), told by "Old Sidse" from Holstenborg. The story begins with the sorrow that came upon a man named Habakkuk and his wife, Mary Magdalene, after their son had accidentally killed his little sister, while playing with a bow and arrow. In those days "people's sorrows were more violent than they are now," and things began to go very wrong with the parents: "They had many visions and many remarkable dreams, and all of

them were sent from heaven, they said. And, as their minds grew sick, they were no longer able to discriminate between truth and falsehood. But what they said spread among the people and their words had great power over all." One of the things they did was to decide that "all earthly possessions ought to be in common." So on Habakkuk's floor was piled up every day the catch and take of game and fish, and he divided them among those who had need. So successful was the "new religion" that everybody in Evighedsfjörd, even the catechist, fell away from Christianity, the latter finding his sole occupation in writing down the prophecies of Habakkuk and his wife. These seem to have been so numerous or so extensive that, "at last, all the paper in the village was used up, and he was obliged to take the leather hangings from the walls and write on them." The absorption of the people in these goings on was so great that "all the hunters left off going out hunting, and lived on their winter provisions." It is said that one man, alone refused to join the "prophet,"—he was driven away by "a strange smell of worms," which he noticed while the performances were taking place in Habakkuk's house.

These performances are described as follows:

"When one or other of the disciples, without any reason whatever, wanted to weep, the whole gathering would break out into a terrible crying. And when suddenly some person in the assembly threw himself down on his face and began to laugh, all the rest did the same. And sometimes they would laugh till one would think they could never be serious again. When Habakkuk was holding his discourses on eternal life, the assembly would sometimes be seized with such a longing for eternal life, that they would begin to jump up and down where they sat. Then suddenly Habakkuk would stop his oration, mention a name, and say that such and such a one had now entered on the right way; and immediately all the men would rush out of the house, seize their guns, and fire a salute, that they might hear in heaven how men rejoiced at so great salvation. Sometimes they would go up to the churchyard, too, take each other by the hand, form circles round the graves, and sing hymns for the dead."

It is said also that "Mary Magdalene, when people came to show their respects to her by pressing her hand, made a sharp distinction between those to whom she gave her whole hand, and those whom she merely touched with her little finger."

The "new religion" took on wilder and fiercer aspects, in

spite of the fact that the catechist's brother (they were both descendants of a Dane, who had lived at the 'Old Sukkertoppe') came to Evighedsfjörd to remonstrate with the people.

The end, however, came in the autumn. It had been noticed for a long time (and the matter came to be much talked about) that "the prophet had manifested a partiality for the proximity of young women, in a way that was not seemly in a prophet." So there began to be a falling away of the people:

"One day, a man, whose name was Justus, towed home a white whale, and Habakkuk, as usual, came out and called to him to lay it down outside his house. Justus laughed, and replied that for the future Habakkuk would probably have to be content with giving orders about the catch that he brought home himself. This was the signal of the great disruption, and soon Habakkuk and Mary Magdalene were again quite ordinary people, of whom no one took any notice."

The revelations and prophecies of the founders of this particular "new religion" were lost to posterity, for, when the youngest son of Frederik Bertelsen (who so remonstrated with his brother Joseph) caught his first seal, "all the Bible that Habakkuk and Mary Magdalene had dictated to Joseph was burned to cook the banquet with."

Rink, in his *Eskimo Tales and Traditions* (1876, p. 399), refers to the "youth Habakkuk," who "made himself a prophet and head of a sect independent of the European missionaries."

6. *The Iroquois "new religion" of 1800.* The history of Skaniadario, "Handsome Lake," a chief of the Senecas, who in 1800, originated the "new religion" of the Iroquois, is a most remarkable one. He was born about 1735 and died in 1815. Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt says of him (17, p. 586):

"The greater part of his life was spent in dissipation and idleness; but, late in life, realizing that the worst curse of his race was the evil of drunkenness and the traffic in liquor, he sought to establish a better system of morals among his, who were then passing through a transition period between their ancient mode of life and modern civilization. His precepts and teachings, based largely on the ancient custom and faith, but recast to adjust them to the new conditions, contemplated the regulation of family life by pointing out the respect and duties that should subsist between husband and wife, and between parents and children, and the need of chastity and continence and by the inculcation of industry and thrift."

Handsome Lake was half-brother of the famous Cornplanter, and some have thought that his "revelation" had a political

turn in behalf of Cornplanter against Red Jacket, but this is hardly so. For the understanding of this "new religion" of the Iroquois we have the account in Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* (26) derived from Soséawa, the grandson of the prophet; another, briefer report in Clark's *History of Onondaga*; and, in recent years, discussions of the matter by Beauchamp and Boyle, with special reference to the modern developments of this curious cult.

The "revelation" is said to have come to Handsome Lake, at Connewanga, Pa., in 1800,—he had been confined to bed for about four years, suffering from epilepsy and partial paralysis. His own story relates that (17, p. 586):

"One afternoon he heard voices calling him out. He arose in spirit and went outside, where, at a short distance from the house, among some shrubbery, he saw four [some say at first only three] spirits in human shape, who assured him they were merely messengers from the Artificer of Life. Of these, three bore shrubs in their hands, on which hung several kinds of fruit, which he was told to eat, when he was at once restored by their magical efficacy. Thereupon the messengers revealed to him, by means of a great number of precepts, the will of the Artificer of Life, on a variety of subjects; he was further told to promulgate these teachings among the tribes of the Iroquois, and was led by the messengers into the white man's hell, in order to permit him to witness the punishments that are in store for the lawless and the drunkard, the better to warn his people of the need of reform." The watchers at his bedside thought he was dead, but, after a long trance, he suddenly arose, and, from that time rapidly recovered health. He visited the several Iroquois villages from year to year, preaching his new doctrines with power and eloquence. It is reported that many so-called pagans gave up their dissolute habits, becoming sober and moral men and women, among whom "discord and contention gave place to harmony and order, and vagrancy and sloth to ambition and industry."

Among the things which the "angels" revealed to Handsome Lake as the word of the Great Spirit or Creator were the following:

Monogamous family life. Marital love and affection. Kindness to children. Hospitality. No drinking whiskey; no drunkenness. No use of the white man's medicine. No observance of Sunday. No intermarriage between Indians and whites. Service in sickness without demand for reward,—"medicine man" must take what patient chose to give, and not discriminate against the poor unable to give anything. All religious things relating to the "Great Spirit" to be done before noon, when he went to sleep. Shortening of certain mourning and other ceremonies, feasts, etc. No use of cards, nor of the fiddle. No cheating

of purchasers of merchandise, etc. No sale of land. Daily prayers. Thanksgiving services at harvest-time, etc.

When Handsome Lake began his tour of the Iroquois villages, neither the Oneidas nor the Tuscaroras would have anything to do with him, while among his own people, the Senecas, the influence of Red Jacket counted against him in some respects. The warmest friends of the "prophet" were the Onondagas, among whom he died, in 1815, while on a missionary tour, and was buried under the old council-house.

In 1802, a delegation of Senecas and Onondagas visited Washington, and President Jefferson, through Secretary of War Dearborn, issued a letter, commending the new doctrine, which, Mr Hewitt says (17, p. 587) "was mistaken for a license permitting Skaniadario to preach his new faith to the Indians."

Dr. Beauchamp seems inclined to magnify the contribution of Christianity to the doctrines of the "new religion" of Handsome Lake. He remarks (p. 46), "as Christianity leavened his revelation, so it affected his burial, which reminds us of interment under ancient churches." And again (7a, p. 174), "the moral code was given almost in our words and with some admirable minor details." Of his work in general, the same authority says (7a, p. 180):

"The prophet's influence, however, endured after death, although little is left of it now. For a long time this was salutary, and his precepts were certainly ennobling, although he compromised with old superstitions too deeply-rooted for immediate eradication."

The "new religion" of Handsome Lake is represented to-day in the rites and ceremonies of the "pagan" Iroquois of New York and Canada. Says Mr. Hewitt (17, p. 587):

"It was this reformed religion of Handsome Lake, or the so-called paganism of the modern Iroquois, that has so steadfastly resisted the advance of Christianity and education among the Iroquois tribes. At the present time the seat of this faith is in Canada on the Grand River reservation [in Ontario], where it has about 1,200 adherents; but there are small bodies who still profess to follow the precepts of Handsome Lake dwelling on the Cattaraugus and the Allegany reservation, and on the Onondaga reservation in New York. Each autumn these 'pagans' assemble to hear the doctrines of Skaniadario preached to them."

One great deliverance was made by Soséawa, the grandson of Handsome Lake, at a religious council in 1848, and another by Hohshahhonn at another such council in 1894,—the latter is

now, according to Dr. Beauchamp (7a, p. 170) "the authorized narrator of the prophet's vision and laws." Hohshahhoh's address "agreed in the main" with the words of Soséawa, which had been taken down forty-six years before. The Canadian "pagan" Iroquois have been the subject of an interesting and valuable monograph by Dr. David Boyle. Some differences in doctrine and in practices seem to exist between the Canadian followers of Handsome Lake and those in New York State.

Mr. A. C. Parker, who has described the so-called "sundances" among the Canadian and New York Iroquois, reports (28, p. 473) that "in every case the dance was the Ostawä'gowa, or Great Feather Dance, the prime religious dance of the Gai'wiu religion. This modern religion was originated about 1800 by Ganiö'dai'u ('Handsome Lake'), the Seneca prophet, and almost entirely revolutionized the religious system of the Iroquois of New York and Ontario. Few of the early folk-beliefs survived the taboo of the prophet." These dances of the "Pagan Iroquois" of Ontario have been studied by Dr. David Boyle, in his *Archeological Report* for 1898 (10). Mr. Parker found that, among the Canadian Onondaga, the leader of the sun-ceremony carries an effigy of the sun, something absent from the New York Iroquois, and he

"seriously doubts that the preachers of Handsome Lake's Gai'wiu would permit such a practice, it being a violation of the prophet's teaching." It is probable, however, that "the Canadian Iroquois, however, received the revelations later than their New York brethren, and were longer under the influence of the older religion, which may account for the survival and use of the sun-disk."

Mr. Parker obtained one of the sun-myths, which he records, from Soson'dowa, or "Great Night," the recognized head-preacher to-day of the Gai'wiu religion of Handsome Lake,—he is a Seneca, and known also as Edward Cornplanter, being a descendant of Gaiänt'waka, the half-brother of the "prophet." Dr. Boyle states that the Canadian Iroquois adhere closely to the old instruments [drums and rattles] at the dance-feasts, the successors of the "prophet" (himself also, according to some) having forbidden the fiddle, etc. At Onondaga (N. Y.) according to Dr. Beauchamp, "cornets and organs have come in." The "Burning of the White Dog," a ceremony, antedating the time of Handsome Lake, and one which seems to have been actually forbidden by him, is, Dr. Boyle states, car-

ried on to-day by the Canadian Iroquois pagans "in connection with their annual New Year's dance, at the time of the February new moon." Dr. Boyle notes also that "our pagan Iroquois, then, has no hell, but his leniency in this respect is more than counter-balanced by his exclusiveness respecting heaven, where he admits no white man." The belief of the New York Iroquois respecting the half-way position of George Washington seems rare among the Iroquois of the Grand River reservation in Ontario. Says Dr. Boyle on this point, "I have never heard but one Indian refer to this exception, and it is not improbable that in time it will be wholly forgotten among Canadian pagans." Concerning the Canadian "Pagans" in general Dr. Boyle remarks (11, p. 124):

"The wonder, then, is not that Iroquois paganism has been to some extent modified by Christian influences, but that it has been modified so little. One must mingle with these people in their homes, in the fields, at their games, and in their long-houses in connection with their feasts or dances, to appreciate fully their mental attitude in this respect.

"They are utterly unconscious of any similarity between their own and the white man's religion. They believe that Niyoh, the Great Spirit, has always formed a part of Indian belief, and consequently have no difficulty in accepting the story respecting the four persons or angels he commissioned to communicate with Ska-ne-o-dy-o. Similarly, they have no hesitation in the offering of specific thanks to Rawen Niyoh, and have perfect faith in the intermediary services of the white dog. If we add to these a few suggestions respecting conduct, based on the Christian code of morals, we have about all for which Iroquois paganism is indebted to European culture, after a period of more or less contact, lasting for three hundred and fifty years. It is questionable whether many other forms of paganism have remained so unchanged for the same length of time, and in anything approaching similar circumstances. It is, indeed, a matter of doubt, whether several forms of Christianity and Mohammedanism have not suffered or benefited to a greater extent, even during the space of the present century."

Another interesting statement made by Dr. Boyle concerning the Canadian Pagan Iroquois is this:

"It should be observed also that those who continue pagans are as bright and intelligent as their Christian confrères are. Neither are they at all proud on account of their paganism. They deal freely with their fellows in every way, not even disdaining to intermarry with them, and, it is remarked that, when a 'mixed marriage' takes place, it just as often happens that the Christian relapses into paganism as that the pagan becomes a Christian" (10, p. 58).

As between the "pagans" and the Christians some things are reported decidedly to the advantage of the former. Dr. Beauchamp (7, p. 45), e. g., states, in connection with the "prophet's" ban upon whiskey, that "the nominally Christian Oneidas rejected his authority, and continued the use of spirits as a kind of protest, while his followers became sober." It has been said also that divorces are more frequent among the Christians than among the pagans. The large number of prohibitions made by Handsome Lake and his successors against Indian acceptance or imitation of the actions, beliefs, etc., of the whites, is noteworthy.

7. *The Shawnee "new religion" of 1805-1812.* In the year 1805, at Wapakoneta (Ohio), their ancient capital, a young man named Lalawethika (i. e. the Rattle) announced to the assembled Shawnee Indians and their allies that he was the bearer of a new message from the Master of Life, "who had taken pity on his red children and wished to save them from the threatened destruction." Mooney (25, p. 672) thus *résumés* his doctrines:

"He declared that he had been taken up to the spirit-world, and had been permitted to lift the veil of the past and the future,—had seen the misery of evil doers and learned the happiness that awaited those who followed the precepts of the Indian god. He then began an earnest exhortation, denouncing the witchcraft practices and medicine juggleries of the tribe, and solemnly warning his hearers that none who had part in such things would ever taste of the future happiness. The fire-water of the whites was poison and accursed; and those who continued its use would, after death be tormented with all the pains of fire, while flames would continually issue from their mouth. (This idea may have been derived from some white man's teaching, or from the Indian practice of torture by fire.) The young must cherish and respect the aged and infirm. All property must be in common, according to the ancient law of their ancestors. Indian women must cease to intermarry with white men; the two races were distinct, and must remain so. The white man's dress, with his flint-and-steel, must be discarded for the old-time buckskin and the firestick. More than this, every tool and every custom derived from the whites must be put away, and they must return to the methods which the Master of Life had taught them. When they should do all this, he promised that they would again be taken into the divine favor, and find the happiness which their fathers had known before the coming of the whites. Finally, in proof of his divine mission, he announced that he had received power to cure all diseases, and to arrest the hand of death in sickness or on the battlefield."

His words had a great influence. Drunkenness, we are told became very rare for a long time among the western tribes, and a crusade against "magic" and "witchcraft" was inaugurated,—the "prophet" seems to have taken advantage of this "to effectually rid himself of all who opposed his sacred claims," for "it was only necessary for him to denounce such a person as a witch to have him pay the forfeit with reputation, if not with life." Among the first victims was his own nephew. After this, he changed his name to *Tenskwatawa*, "The Open Door," in reference to "the new mode of life which he had come to point out to his people." He settled at Greenville, Ohio, "where representatives from the various scattered tribes of the northwest gathered about him to learn the new doctrines." Some tribes, like the Kickapoo, receive his teachings readily, while others, like the Miami (who looked upon the Shawnees as intruders) opposed him. The way in which he silenced opposition, however, is thus stated by Mooney (25, p. 674):

"By some means he had learned that an eclipse of the sun was to take place in the summer of 1809. As the time drew near, he called about him the scoffers, and boldly announced that on a certain day he would prove to them his supernatural authority by causing the sun to become dark. When the day and hour arrived, and the earth, at mid-day, was enveloped in the gloom of twilight, Tenskwatawa, standing in the midst of the terrified Indians, pointed to the sky, and cried, 'Did I not speak truth? See the sun is dark!' There were no more doubters now. All proclaimed him a true prophet and the messenger of the Master of Life. His fame spread abroad, and apostles began to carry his revelations to the remotest tribes."

His religion "found adherents alike in the Everglades of Florida and on the plains of the Saskatchewan," and, as Mr. Mooney notes, "must necessarily have undergone local modifications."

Among the Ojibwa, *e. g.*, the "prophet" came to be regarded as an incarnation of Manabozho, and his utterances as the words of that deity. From the Ojibwa the "new religion" spread north and affected to some extent the Cree and even the Assiniboin and the Blackfeet. The political side of this Shawnee "new religion" is seen in the achievements and projects of the brother of Tenskwatawa, the famous Tecumseh, whose military spirit soon took advantage of the situation, and "what was at

first a simple religious revival soon became a political agitation." He thought he saw now the means to accomplish the dream of his life, a confederation of all the Indian tribes "to stop the progress of the white man forever." It is not necessary here to give the details of the movement, which met such disastrous defeat at the prophet's town on the Wabash, in November 1811, and in the events of the war of 1812. Of the "prophet's" actions at this time we learn (25, p. 689):

"The night before the engagement the prophet had performed some medicine rites by virtue of which he had assured his followers that half of the soldiers were already dead, and the other half bereft of their senses, so that the Indians would have little to do but rush into their camp and finish them with the hatchet. The result infuriated the savages. They refused to listen to the excuses which are always ready to the tongue of the unsuccessful medicine-man, denounced him as a liar, and even threatened him with death. Deserted by all but a few of his own tribe, warned away from several villages toward which he turned his steps, he found refuge at last among a small band of Wyandots; but his influence and his sacred prestige were gone forever, and he lived out his remaining days in the gloom of obscurity."

He had disobeyed the injunction of his brother not to permit any fight until he should have arrived, and Tecumseh's wrath was fearful to behold. When the war of 1812 was over, Tenskwatawa left his refuge with the Canadian Wyandots and returned to his tribe in Ohio, and removed with them to the West in 1827,—Catlin saw him there in 1832, and reported that "he now lives respected, but silent and melancholy, in his tribe." According to some authorities, the "prophet" Tenskwatawa was noted for stupidity and drunkenness for many years before his "vision," which took place during a trance, upon recovery from which he declared that he "had been conducted to the border of the spirit world by two young men, who had permitted him to look in upon its pleasures, but not to enter, and who, after charging him with the message to his people already noted, had left him, promising to visit him again at a future time." This resembles the proceeding in the Iroquoian "new religion" of 1800. The Mandevillian non-entrance into the other world occurs elsewhere also.

8. *The Ojibwa "new religion" of 1808-1812.* The Shawnee "new religion" of 1805, as noted above, soon made its influence felt among the Ojibwa and closely related tribes. An account of this "new religion" is given by Tanner, a white captive

among the "wild" Ojibwa, who met the messenger from the Shawnee prophet,—the tale is reproduced by Mooney (25, pp. 677-679). Says Tanner, in summing up his statement:

"The influence of the Shawnee prophet was very sensibly and painfully felt by the remotest Ojibbeways of whom I had any knowledge, but it was not the common impression among them that his doctrines had any tendency to unite them in the accomplishment of any human purpose. For two or three years drunkenness was much less frequent than formerly, war was less thought of, and the entire aspect of affairs among them was somewhat changed by the influence of one man. But gradually the impression was obliterated; medicine bags, flints and steels were resumed; dogs were raised, women and children were beaten as before, and the Shawnee prophet was despised. At this day he is looked upon by the Indians as an impostor and a bad man."

It was at Shagawaumikong (Bayfield, Wis.), an ancient capital of the Ojibwa, on the shores of Lake Superior, that the Indians "gathered in great numbers to dance the dances and sing the songs of the new ritual." While there in 1808, "a message was received from the prophet inviting them to come to him at Detroit, where he would explain in person the will of the Master of Life." It is said that "150 canoe-loads of Ojibwa actually started on this pilgrimage, and one family even brought with them a dead child to be restored to life by the prophet." Unfavorable reports, however, caused them to return home, a reaction set in and the prophet's "new religion" ceased to be popular. According to Warren, "one good, however, resulted to the Ojibwa from the throwing away of the poisonous compounds formerly in common use by the lower order of doctors, and secret poisoning became almost unknown."

9. *The Creek "new religion" of 1811.* The Creek "new religion" dates from the fall of 1811, when these Indians were visited by the great Tecumseh, who, in the journey he made on behalf of his confederacy, reached the old Creek town of Tuckabachi, near which now stands the city of Montgomery, Alabama. As a token of his power, Tecumseh is stated to have said to the Creek chief:

"You do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall know. I leave Tuckhabatchee directly, and shall go straight to Detroit. When I arrive there, I will stamp on the ground with my foot and shake down every house in Tuckhabatchee." McKenney and Hall (cited in 25, p. 697), who tell this story, continue as follows:

"So saying, he turned and left the Big Warrior in utter amazement at both his manner and his threat, and pursued his journey. The Indians were struck no less with his conduct than was the Big Warrior, and began to dread the arrival of the day when the threatened calamity would befall them. They met often and talked over this matter, and counted the days carefully to know the day when Tecumthé would reach Detroit.

"The morning they had fixed upon as the day of his arrival at last came. A mighty rumbling was heard,—the Indians all ran out of their houses,—the earth began to shake; when, at last, sure enough, every house in Tuckhabatchee was shaken down. The exclamation was in every mouth, 'Tecumthé has got to Detroit!' The effect was electrical. The message he had delivered to the Big Warrior was believed, and many of the Indians took their rifles and prepared for the war.

"The reader will not be surprised to learn that an earthquake had produced all this; but he will be, doubtless, that it should, happen on the very day on which Tecumthé arrived in Detroit, and in exact fulfillment of his threat. It was the famous earthquake of New Madrid on the Mississippi."

Tecumseh, seemingly, was even more favored by nature than was his brother, the "Prophet," who foretold the eclipse of the sun.

10. *The Cherokee "new religion" of 1812-1813.* This "new religion" of the Cherokee first came to them from their neighbors, the Creeks. Says Mooney (25, p. 676):

"From the south the movement spread to the Cherokee, and one of their priests, living in what is now upper Georgia, began to preach that on a day near at hand there would be a terrible storm, with a mighty wind and hailstones as large as hominy-mortars, which would destroy from the face of the earth all but the true believers who had previously taken refuge on the highest summits of the Great Smoky Mountains.

"Full of this belief, numbers of the tribe in Alabama and Georgia abandoned their bees, their orchards, their slaves, and everything else that might have come to them through the white man, and, in spite of the entreaties and remonstrances of friends who put no faith in the prediction, took up their toilsome march for the mountains of Carolina.

"Waiting for the appointed day, they met with utter disappointment as nothing whatever happened. But 'slowly and sadly they took up their packs once more and turned their faces homeward, dreading the ridicule they were sure to meet there, but yet believing in their hearts that the glorious coming was only postponed for a time.'"

Part of this record reads like the story of the doings of the Millerites or Adventists in anticipation of the expected end of the world in 1843, when many gave away all they had or abandoned their possessions and ascended the hills of New

England to meet the Lord. It is not mentioned, however, that the Cherokee put on "ascension robes."

11. *The Kickapoo "new religion" of 1827-1831.* The Kickapoo Indians were among those influenced by the "new religion" of the Shawnee prophet in 1805-1812, and the "prophet" who sprang up among them in 1827, a man named Kānakūk, was, as Mooney remarks, "the direct spiritual successor of Tenskwatawa and the Delaware prophet, who, in their generation had spoken to the same tribe." His doctrines,—he explained them at length to General Clark, whom he visited in 1827,—condemned the use of medicine bags and medicine songs, drunkenness, murder, quarrelling, stealing, lying, war, selling land, etc. He had a great influence over the Indians, and Catlin, who visited him in 1831 (he was then looked upon as the chief of the remnant of his people in Illinois), painted his portrait. Catlin heard him preach and was much impressed,—"I was singularly struck with the noble efforts of this champion of the mere remnant of a poisoned race so strenuously laboring to rescue the remainder of his people from the deadly bane that has been brought amongst them by enlightened Christians." He also testifies as to the entire absence of drunkenness as a result of the teachings of Kānakūk. A peculiar prayer-stick (a device used by the Delaware "prophet" of 1764) was employed by Kānakūk, and he illustrated his talk with General Clark by a curious diagram of heaven, reproduced by Mooney (25, p. 694). The prayer-stick was still in use among the Kickapoo near Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1854, according to Allis (2), whom Mooney cites to this effect (p. 697):

"The prophet's followers were accustomed to meet for worship on Sunday, when Kānakūk delivered an exhortation in their own language, after which they formed in line and marched around several times in single file, reciting the chant from their prayer-sticks and shaking hands with the bystanders as they passed. As they departed, they continued to chant, until they arrived at the 'father's house,' or heaven, indicated by the figure of a horn at the top of the prayer-stick. The worshipers met also on Fridays, and made confession of their sins, after which certain persons, appointed for the purpose, gave each penitent several strokes with a rod of hickory, according to the gravity of his offense."

Kānakūk, himself, fell a victim to smallpox in 1852. In his last illness he had prophesied that he would arise after three

days, "and, in expectation of the fulfillment of the prophecy, a number of his followers remained watching near the corpse until they too contracted the contagion and died likewise." His doctrines were adopted by many of the Potawatomi Indians in Michigan. To the end "he staunchly upheld the old Indian idea, and resisted every advance of the missionaries and civilization."

12. *The Carrier "new religion" of 1834.* Among the southern Carrier Indians of the Athabaskan stock, about the year 1834, a "new religion" was introduced by "two natives of Oregon, who boasted a semblance of education received at Red River." The doctrines and activities of the new cult were confined largely, if not altogether, to singing, dancing, etc., and it spread "with amazing rapidity all over the country" (23, I, p. 263). Rev. A. G. Morice (27, p. 238), informs us: "The writer has recently discovered, a little above Fort George, on the Nechaco River, one of the meeting-places of those early religionists, where could still be seen, beneath the overgrowth, remnants of the charred human bones round which the natives would dance in a circle, to the sound of strangely worded hymns, accompanied by invocations to the Trinity recalling the formula of the Sign of the Cross." As Father Morice notes, these "semi-pagan practices" helped to prepared the way for the missionaries.

13. *Athabaskan and Tsimshian "new religion" of 1846.* During the twenty-one years which elapsed between the labors of Father Nobili among the Carriers and Babines of northern British Columbia in 1835, and the arrival of the next missionary, several "new religions" seem to have sprung up in various parts of the country. Says Father Morice on this point (27, p. 238):

"After Father Nobili's departure, numerous pseudo-priests, or would-be prophets, sprang up from all places, who, on the strength of dreams, real or pretended, claimed supernatural powers, preached after a way, made people dance when they did not know how to make them pray, gave new names to their adherents, and otherwise counterfeited the work of the missionaries."

This movement was widespread, and "all villages of any importance, especially in the north of New Caledonia, boasted at a time the presence of some such self-appointed priest." The "prophet" of the Babines was named Uzakle, of whom

Father Morice observes that "his pretensions were the ultimate cause of a religious movement among the natives of the extreme northwest, both Tsimpsons and Dénés, a commotion which can rightfully be compared to the Messiah crazes of later days" (27, p. 239). More famous, however, than Uzakle, was a middle-aged man, belonging to the band settled at Rocher Deboulé, none of whom had seen Father Nobili. This man, whose name was 'Kwes, had led a rather fast life and was among those who ridiculed the pretensions of Uzakle. After being the victim of several cataleptic fits and trances,—the first of these fits left him for a while dazed and speechless,—and on recovering, he "declared in an incoherent way that 'He who sits in the heavens' was punishing him for his incredulity and the irregularity of his past conduct." The attacks of catalepsy continued for several successive nights and "it became customary for those near him to dance around his prostrate form thus starting a movement which was to have far-reaching consequences." The further progress of the "new religion" is described as follows:

"'Kwes began to declare that he saw, floating in the air over the heads of every one, a bodiless head with wings listening to the workings of each individual mind (*ni*), and he plainly intimated that his own mind (*pe-ni*) was penetrating into the inmost recesses of his credulous hearers' souls. Henceforth, he said, he was to be called *Peni*, and under that name he soon became famous not only among his own congeners, but even among the Kitsons and the Coast Tsimpsons."

Concerning the "bodiless head with wings," Father Morice thinks, it was "clearly a reminiscence of the Catholic doctrine concerning the Guardian Angels, though to this day his co-tribesmen resent the idea that he may have had any knowledge of the missionaries' teachings."

After this the "new religion" of 'Kwes developed form and content:

"Gradually he formulated a set of religious tenets, consisting of a mixture of Christianity with many beliefs and practices congenial to the native mind. He taught his followers to make the sign of the cross, composed songs with a strong religious bias destined to accompany heathenish dances, preached repentance and atonement for sin, introduced an organization whose object was to watch over order and morality, bestowed names on his adepts, in imitation, no doubt of the christenings by the white priest he must have heard about, united native couples, and in every way played the part of a minister of religion. He even went

further. As the number of his followers increased, he set upon prophesying, and declared that the future had no secrets for him. Strange to say, all the living witnesses, white as much as Déné and Tsimpsian, are unanimous in asserting that all his predictions have since been fulfilled to the letter. If we are to believe the modern survivors of his contemporaries, he went so far as to predict the introduction of the telegraph into the country, a feat which certainly defies any attempt at explanation."

In reference to the "prophesying" of the Carrier and related Indian medicine-men and religionists, the following passage, cited by Father Morice from Lieut. Hooper's book, published in 1853 (19, p. 388) is of interest:

"During the time that Mr. Lane was stationed in New Caledonia he received a visit from an aged Indian of the Carrier tribe who had been with Sir Alexander Mackenzie in one of his trips of discovery to the sea-coast, and had the reputation of being a great medicine-man. As he had not paid a visit to the fort for several years, his appearance excited some surprise, and he was asked why he came. He replied that he had come to look at the fort and its inmates for the last time. 'Did you ever,' said the old man, 'hear thunder in the winter-time?' Mr. Lane replied in the negative. 'Then,' rejoined the Indian, 'when in two moons' time you hear a clap of thunder, send to my lodge and you will find me dead.'

"Within fifteen days of the appointed time Mr. Lane did indeed hear a solitary burst of thunder; the nephew of the old Indian, who was the fort interpreter, started off directly to his uncle's lodge, and on arrival found that he had just expired. The realization of this prophecy did not in the least surprise the rest of the Indians, who had expressed their entire conviction of its fulfilment."

To 'Kwes (or Peni) is also attributed the following feat of jugglery:

"In the course of his religious dances, he would introduce into his mouth the green, unmatured fruit of the amelanchier or service-berry bush, which, in the presence of all the spectators, would soon ripen to the extent of yielding a copious flow of dark juice."

Peni was a man of great resources and kept up the interest of his people for a long time. According to Father Morice:

"New trances, after several years, brought forth a renewal of interest in his mission, and the prophet accommodated himself to the new circumstances by again changing his name into that of Sandresa. He died miserably at Babine, struck with apoplexy while playing the rôle of a common shaman."

14. *Haida* "new religion." The influence of Peni seems to have gone even beyond the Athabaskans and Tsimshian. We

find, e. g., Dr. John R. Swanton, the chief authority at present on the Haida Indians, of the Queen Charlotte Islands, saying (33a, p. 314), concerning certain characters in the "Story of the Shaman, Ga'ndox's-father," reported by him from the Skidegate Haida:

"It would be interesting if we could trace the word BALê'la [a shaman, who appeared among the Haida] to its origin, for it was certainly connected in some way with the first appearance of white people in northern British Columbia and with the first efforts of Christian missionaries. Bini [mentioned in this story] evidently = Peni, from *ni*, 'mind,' a Carrier Indian, who, immediately after the appearance of the first Catholic missionaries claimed remarkable supernatural powers and started a kind of sporadic cult, which spread throughout much of the northern part of British Columbia. At Masset I discovered that certain songs had been obtained, or were supposed to have been obtained, from a Jesuit missionary on the Skeena. The Christian influences apparent in this story evidently emanated from the same source, as BALê'la's and Bini's songs are all said to have been revealed at a place up the Skeena river at the same time and to have spread from there."

15. *The Winnebago "new religion" of 1852-1853.* Among the Winnebagoes on the Turkey River, Iowa, about 1852-1853 there appeared a "prophet," named Patheske (or "Long Nose"), who announced that he had been "instructed in a vision to teach his people a new dance, which he called the friendship dance (*chukoraki*). Mr. Mooney informs us further:

"This they were to perform at intervals for one whole year, at the end of which time, in the spring they must take the warpath against their hereditary enemy, the Sioux, and would then reap a rich harvest of scalps. The dance, as he taught it to them, he claimed to have seen performed by a band of spirits in the other world, whither he had been taken after a ceremonial fast of several days' duration. It differed from their other dances, and, although warlike in its ultimate purpose, was not a war-dance. It was performed by the men alone, circling around a fire within the lodge. He also designated a young man named Saraminuka, or 'Indistinct,' as the proper one to lead the expedition at the appointed time. The friendship dance went on all through the summer and winter until spring, when the prophet announced that he had received a new revelation forbidding the proposed expedition. His disgusted followers at once denounced him as an imposter and abandoned the dance. Saraminuka was soon afterward killed by an accident, which was considered by the Indians a direct retribution for his failure to carry out his part of the program. The prophet died a few years later while on a visit to Washington with a delegation of his tribe" (25, p. 701).

For Schoolcraft's statement that, about this time a belief was current among the Winnebagos that "the tenth generation of their people was near its close, and that at the end of the thirteenth, the red race would be destroyed," Mr. Mooney's personal investigations failed to find corroboration.

16. *Eskimo "new religion" of 1853.* The mission of Friedrichsthal, founded by the Moravian missionaries in 1824, was involved in a "new religion" in 1853. Of its founder we read (35, pp. 208-209):

"Matthew, a young man of excellent character, natural gifts and religious attainments, to whom his countrymen gave the name 'Great Sage,' after the death of his mother, awoke his father, brothers and sisters, one night, and continued in prayer with them till morning. He professed to have seen the Lord, and to have been assured by him that the end of the world had come."

He was soon joined by some of the congregation at Friedrichsthal and others. The procedures indulged in are described as follows:

"At their private meetings, there were distortions of the face, leaping, groaning and shoutings. Two women, the wives of helpers, began to marry and to divorce, to readmit those who had been excluded from the Lord's Supper, and to celebrate that ordinance; using the flesh of fowls for bread, and water for wine."

The missionaries were insulted and in danger of their lives, as the excitement increased. At length Matthew announced that the world would come to an end the very next night. So

"He and some of his followers went to a mountain to be taken up thence into heaven. The night was cold, and they were all barefooted. When morning dawned, their delusion was gone, and, with feet frost-bitten, they acknowledged their error."

17. *The Paiute "new religion" of 1870 and 1889.* About the year 1870, a Paiute minor chief named Tävibo (i. e. White Man), who lived in Mason valley (near the Walker River Reservation) in Nevada, began preaching a "new religion," to these Indians, among whom it was common for "prophets" and "medicine men" to go up into the mountains and receive communications from the spirits. Tävibo had several "revelations," in one of which he prophesied that a great upheaval or earthquake would swallow up the whites and everything belonging to them, leaving the Indians to enjoy the earth and

all its products. In a second "vision," he declared that "when the great disaster came, all, both Indians and whites, would be swallowed up or overwhelmed, but that, at the end of three days (or a few days), the Indians would be resurrected in the flesh, and would live forever to enjoy the earth, with plenty of game, fish, and pine-nuts, while their enemies, the whites, would be destroyed forever; there would thus be a final and eternal separation between Indians and whites."

A third "vision," occurring after much fasting and prayer, led him to announce that "the divine spirit had become so much incensed at the lack of faith in the prophecies, that it was revealed to his chosen one that those Indians who believed in the prophecy would be resurrected and happy, but those who did not believe in it would stay in the ground and be damned forever with the whites." Täviso has considerable influence upon Indians outside his own tribe,—“he was visited by Indians from Oregon and Idaho, and his teachings made their influence felt among the Bannock and Shoshoni, as well as among all the scattered bands of the Paiute.” About 1875, the Paiute of southwestern Utah were much excited over a report that “two mysterious beings with white skins had appeared among the Paiute far to the west, and announced a speedy resurrection of all the dead Indians, the restoration of the game, and the return of the old-time primitive life.” One curious feature of the new order of things was that both races were to be white in color.

Täviso, the Paiute "prophet," is of special importance for another reason. At his death, *ca.* 1870, "he left a son named *Wovoka*, "The Cutter" [later known also as "Jackson (or Jack) Wilson"] about 14 years of age." Mooney (25), who visited Wovoka in 1891, gives "his own story as told by himself, with such additional information as seems to come from authentic sources." Wovoka is said to have taught the dance to his people a couple of years before he received his "great revelation." This took place, while cutting wood on the mountain, in connection with an eclipse of the sun. Says Mooney (25, pp. 771-772):

On this occasion 'the sun died' (was eclipsed) and he fell asleep in the daytime and was taken up to the other world. Here he saw God, with all the people who had died long ago engaged in their old-time sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant

land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling, and live in peace with the whites; that they must work and not lie or steal; that they must put away all the old practices that savored of war; that, if they faithfully obeyed his instructions, they would at last be united with their friends in the other world, where there would be no more death, or sickness, or old age. He was then given the dance, which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing this dance at intervals, for five consecutive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves, and hasten the event. Finally, God gave him control over the elements so that he could make it rain or snow or be dry at will, and appointed him his deputy to take charge of affairs in the west, while 'General Harrison,' would attend to matters in the east, and he, God, would look after the world above. He then returned to earth, and began to preach as he was directed, convincing the people by exercising the wonderful powers that had been given him."

It is said that "a short time before the prophet began to preach, he was stricken down by a severe fever," and "while he was still sick, there occurred an eclipse of the sun." This was probably the total eclipse of January 1, 1889. The dance instituted by Wovoka did not possess the element of trances (so conspicuous later on among other tribes), nor did it have the "ghost-shirt" so important in the later Sioux "ghost dances." Wovoka seems to have been without the deep-set hostility to the whites characteristic of some others of these Indian "prophets," nor did he begin his "revelation" by claiming to be Christ. He was never away from Mason valley, spoke but little English (uses his native Paiute) and "was not acquainted with the sign-language, which is hardly known west of the mountains."

The *Nänigükwa*, or "dance in a circle" (so-called in distinction from older tribal dances) instituted by Wovoka, seems to have been the parent of the great "Ghost Dance," and the reputation of Wovoka, himself, as the Messiah, the special stimulus for the so-called "Ghost Dance Religion," the development of which, beginning with 1890 in particular, and its rapid spread among so many Indian tribes, including its connection with the Sioux outbreak of 1890, must be read in the pages of Mooney's remarkable monograph, where the subsequent fate of the "Ghost Dance" is also described. The doctrine of "the return of the ghosts" and "the annihilation of the white man" took stern shape with the more warlike tribes,

and again the political aspect of the "new religion" led to its metamorphosis and its ultimate failure. Of Wovoka, himself, Mooney informs us (25, p. 927) "as for the great Messiah himself, when last heard from Wovoka was on exhibition as an attraction at the Midwinter fair in San Francisco; by this time he has doubtless retired into his original obscurity." This was the fate of a man, to whose home in Mason valley, Nevada, once came delegates from Arapaho and Cheyenne, Kiowa and Shoshoni, Sioux and Ute, etc., to learn the "new religion" and spread knowledge of it over so large a portion of the Indian country. It is worth noting that Nakash, an Arapaho, who visited the Paiute prophet in 1889, was the first to bring the dance to the eastern tribes.

18. *The Wánapûm "new religion" of 1850-1884.* Almost contemporaneous with the Paiute "new religion" in its first developments, was the "new religion" of Smohalla, a "dreamer prophet," and chief of the Wánapûm on the Columbia river,—a small tribe of Shahaptian stock, closely related to the Yakima and the Nez Percés. His followers, in 1872, were estimated at some 2,000, and "his apostles were represented as constantly traveling from one reservation to another to win over new converts to his teachings" (25, p. 711). In his youth, "he frequented the Catholic mission of Atahnam among the Yakima, where he became familiar with the forms of that service, and also acquired a slight knowledge of French,—and, according to Mooney, "the influence of the Catholic ceremonial is plainly visible in his own ritual performance." He had been a warrior in early manhood and "had already come to be regarded as a prominent man when he first began to preach his peculiar theology about the year 1850."

His doctrines spread rapidly among the Columbia tribes, "and materially facilitated their confederation in the Yakima war of 1855-56,"—he is said to have sought, but vainly, the leadership of the Indians in that war. About 1860 he was "making medicine" against a rival chief, and in a quarrel, forced by himself, was wounded and left for dead, but was ultimately rescued by some white men, after floating down the Columbia in a canoe into which he managed to crawl. Afraid or ashamed to return to his own country, he started out to travel. In the words of Mooney (25, p. 718):

"Then began one of the most remarkable series of journeyings ever undertaken by an uncivilized Indian. Going down the Columbia to Portland and the coast, he traveled south, and, stopping on the way at various points in Oregon and California, continued beyond San Diego into Mexico. Then, turning again, he came back through Arizona, Utah and Nevada to his former home on the Columbia, where he announced that he had been dead and in the spirit world, and had now returned, by divine command, to guide his people."

As they really believed him to have died, the Indians came readily enough to listen to him and to accept his doctrines. Says Mooney further (25, p. 719):

"Smohalla now declared to his people that the Sághalee Tyee [Chinook Jargon term], the Great Chief Above, was angry at their apostacy, and commanded them, through him, to return to their primitive manners, as their present miserable condition, in the presence of the intrusive race, was due to their having abandoned their own religion, and violated the laws of nature and the precepts of their ancestors. He then explained in detail the system to which they must adhere in future, if they would conform to the expressed will of the higher power. It was a system based on the aboriginal mythology and usage, with an elaborate ritual, which combined with the genuine Indian features much of what he had seen and remembered of Catholic ceremonial and military parade, with perhaps some additions from Mormon forms."

It was during cataleptic trances, to which he was subject, that Smohalla received his "revelations." From this practice his followers received the name of "Dreamers." He seems to have made use of "an almanac and some little explanation from a party of surveyors," to "add greatly to his reputation by predicting several eclipses." But, not being able to get another almanac, "his astronomic prophecies came to an abrupt termination at the end of the first year."

He possessed also "a blank book containing mysterious characters, some of which resembled letters of the alphabet, and which he said were records of events and prophecies." These characters, Mooney thinks, were probably "genuine mnemonic symbols invented by himself for his own purposes,"—a thing "by no means rare among those who may be called the literary men of our aboriginal tribes."

He lived at the Wánapûm village of P'nä, on the west bank of the Columbia, in Yakima Co., Washington. As the name P'nä (i. e. "fish-weir") indicates, it was "a great rendezvous for the neighboring tribes during the salmon-fishing-season," and as Mooney remarks (p. 717), "these frequent gatherings

afford abundant opportunity for the teaching and dissemination of his peculiar doctrines, as is sufficiently evident from the fact that, while his own tribe numbers hardly two score families, his disciples along the river are counted by thousands."

The chief aid of Smohalla in his "new religion" was Kotai'aqan, son of Kamai'akan, a great war-chief of the Yakima. Details of the doctrines, ceremonies, and sayings of Smohalla are given by Mooney, and it appears that Kotai'aqan "had much to do with formulating both the dogmas and the rituals." He was also of a gentler temper than Smohalla and "more disposed to meet civilization half way." He died about 1890, and his place was taken by his stepson, Tranä'ni, who met his death by violence in 1892. His priestly successor was "a man known to the whites as Billy John." The regular services of the Smohalla religion take place on "Sunday" (long sacred among the Nez Percé "as a result of the teachings of the Hudson's Bay officers." Week-day services are also held, —likewise "special periodic observances, such as the 'lament' for the dead, particularly the dead chiefs, in early spring; the salmon dance, when the salmon begin to run in April, and the berry dance, when the wild berries ripen in autumn."

The Smohalla "new religion" had not a little to do with the Nez Percés war of 1877, for "the Nez Percés, especially those who acknowledge the leadership of Chief Joseph, were largely under the influence of the Dreamer prophets," and "Toohulhulsoe, the principal dreamer-priest of Joseph's band," was one of those who urged the policy of resistance to the whites.

It is worth noting here that one of the names of Smohalla is Yúyunipí'tqana, *i. e.* "The Shouting Mountain," which appellation he received "from a chief among his followers that a part of his revelation came to him from a mountain, which became instinct with life, and spoke into his soul, while he lay dreaming upon it."

19. *The Shaker "new religion" of Puget Sound, 1881.* This "new religion" is interesting because of the large element of Christian doctrine and practices which it contains,—“it now has a regular organization with several houses of worship, and has received the official endorsement of the Presbyterian church” (25, p. 746),—and is also of considerable importance, because, in the opinion of Mooney, “there is good reason to believe that the Paiute Messiah himself, and, through him, all

the apostles of the Ghost dance, have obtained their knowledge of hypnotic secrets from the 'Shakers' of Puget Sound." The founder of this "new religion" (the adherents came to be called "Shakers" from the "nervous shaking" figuring in their services) was an Indian named Squ-sacht-un, or "John Slocum" as he was called by the whites, a member of the Squaxin tribe. Its origin is thus described (25, p. 746):

"In 1881 (Eells makes it 1882) he 'died' or fell into a trance one morning about daylight, and remained in that condition until the middle of the afternoon, when he awoke and announced that he had been to heaven, but had been met at the entrance by angels, who forbade him to enter on account of his wickedness, and gave him his choice either to go to hell or return to earth and teach his people what they must do to get to heaven. Accordingly, he came back to earth and began his divinely appointed mission, introducing into the new doctrine and ritual a great deal of what he had learned from the white missionaries."

It appears that in early life he had learned something of the Catholic religion, its ceremonials, etc., and, for some years previous to his revelation, "he had lived on the Skomish reservation, where he had attended a Protestant church, and had learned something of the white man's religion." The "Shaker religion" is evidently a curious "mixture of Catholic, Presbyterian, and old Indian ceremonies," as may be seen from the various accounts given by Mooney. But for them the "revelation" of John Slocum is more practical than the Christian Bible. The right-hand man of "John Slocum," and his successor as head of the "Shaker" church is Louis Yowaluch, also a Squaxin Indian, who "was taken into the Presbyterian church as an accredited elder." Earlier in life, Yowaluch was a noted gambler. Mr. Eells, who is rather an unsympathetic recorder of "Shaker" religious history, states that:

"As it spread, one Indian went so far as to declare himself to be Christ again come to earth, and rode through the streets of Olympia at the head of several scores of his followers, with his hands outstretched as Christ was when he was crucified. But he was so ridiculed by other Indians and by the whites that he gave up this idea, and simply declared himself to be a prophet who had received revelations from heaven."

20. *Kiowa "new religion" of 1881-1887.* Their defeat by the whites and the extinction of the great southern buffalo-herd, as Mr. Mooney observes (25, p. 906), made the Kiowa "at once both prisoners and paupers." Still they did not give

up faith altogether, although the circumstances were altogether unparalleled in their history as a people. They believed that "the buffalo still lived beyond their horizon or in caves under the earth, and with its return would come back prosperity and freedom." To bring back the buffalo thus became, as it were, their religion. Mr. Mooney tells how "in 1881 a young Kiowa named Da'tekañ, 'Keeps-his-name-always,' began to 'make medicine' to bring back the buffalo." After he had made his sacred *tipi* and put on his priestly robes:

"Then standing in front of his *tipi*, he called the people around him, and told them that he had been empowered in a dream to bring back the buffalo, and, if they observed strictly the prayers and ceremonies which he enjoined, the great herds would once more cover the prairie."

He seems to have persuaded the people, for we are told:

"His hearers believed his words, promised strict obedience, and gave freely of their blankets and other property to reward his efforts in their behalf. Da'tekañ retired to his sacred *tipi*, where, in his feathered robe of office, he continued to prophecy and make buffalo medicine for a year, when he died without seeing the realization of his hopes."

This figure of this medicine man appears on a Kiowa calendar obtained by Mr. Mooney. Later on, in 1887, Pa'iñgya, "In-the-middle," another "prophet" arose, claiming to be heir in power and doctrine to Da'tekañ. Concerning him we learn that

"He amplified the doctrine by asserting, logically enough, that, as the whites were responsible for the disappearance of the buffalo, the whites themselves would be destroyed by the gods, when the time was at hand for the return of the buffalo. He preached also his own invulnerability and claimed the power to kill with a look those who might offend him, as far as his glance could reach. He fixed his headquarters on Elk creek, near the western limit of the reservation, where he inaugurated a regular series of ritual observances, under the management of ten chosen assistants. Finally, he announced that the time was at hand when the whites would be removed and the buffalo would return. He ordered all the tribe to assemble on Elk creek, where, after four days, he would bring down fire from heaven, which would destroy the agency, the schools and the white race, with the Indian unbelievers altogether. The faithful need not fear pursuit by the troops, for the soldiers who might follow would wither before his glance, and their bullets would have no effect on the Indians. . . . The whole Kiowa tribe caught the infection of his words. Every camp was abandoned, parents took their children from the schools, and all fled to the rendezvous on Elk creek. Here they waited patiently for their deliverance till the predicted day came and passed without event, when they returned

with sadness to their camps and their government rations of white man's beef."

As for the "prophet" himself: "Pa'iñgya still lives, but the halo of prophecy no longer surrounds him." His own excuse for non-fulfilment of his predictions was that his people "had violated some of the ordinances and thereby postponed the destined happiness." When the rumor of the "Messiah" movement of 1890 began to reach the Kiowa, the unsuccessful prophet "hailed it as the fulfilment of the prediction."

21. *Kiowa "new religion" of 1890.* In June, 1890, shortly after the Kiowa had heard of the advent of a "Messiah" among the northern tribes, they sent some twenty men under the leadership of Pa'tadal, "Poor Buffalo," to the Cheyenne-Arapaho agency at Darlington, to look into the matter. The messengers made a very favorable report and also brought with them "the sacred red paint procured originally from the country of the Messiah." At the great gathering of the Kiowa and Apache at Anadarko (to receive "grass-money" payment for pasturage-leases by cattlemen), not long after this:

"The Ghost Dance was formally inaugurated among the Kiowa, Poor Buffalo assuming direction of the ceremony, and painting the principal participants with the sacred paint with his own hands. The dance was carried back to their various camps and became a part of the tribal life."

About this time, a Sioux chief called High Wolf, came down from the north, and, on returning home, he invited a young Kiowa (his grandmother had been a Sioux captive) named A'piatañ, "Wooden-Lance," to visit him at Pine Ridge. A'piatañ, who was then about 30 years of age, had recently lost a child to whom he had been much attached. Says Mr. Mooney (25, p. 908):

"He brooded over his loss until the new doctrine came with its promise of a reunion with departed friends, and its possibility of seeing and talking with them in visions of the trance. Moved by parental affection, which is the ruling passion with an Indian, he determined on this long journey in search of the Messiah, who was vaguely reported to be somewhere in the north, to learn from his own lips the wonderful story, and to see if it were possible to talk again with his child. He discussed the matter with the chiefs, who decided to send him as a delegate to find the Messiah and learn the truth or falsity of the reports, in order that the Kiowa might be guided by the result on his return. A sufficient sum of money was raised for his expenses, and he left for the north in September, 1890. Almost the whole tribe had

assembled to witness his departure, and each in turn of the principal men performed over him a ceremony of blessing, such as has already been described. His going and return are both described on the calendar previously mentioned."

Just after the departure of A'piatañ, Sitting Bull the Arapaho "prophet," with personal knowledge of the Messiah, came down to the Kiowa, and "predicted that the new earth would arrive in the following spring, 1891." In consequence of this "the Kiowa assembled on the Washita, at the mouth of the Rainy Mountain Creek, and here, at the largest Ghost Dance ever held by the tribe, Sitting Bull consecrated seven men and women as leaders of the dance and teachers of the doctrine by giving to each one a sacred feather to be worn in the dance as the badge of priesthood. The leaders were then taught the songs and ritual of the dance,—“at first the songs were all in the Arapaho language, but, after the trances, which now began to be frequent, the Kiowa composed songs of their own.”

It is interesting to learn that, "until the Ghost Dance came to the prairie tribes, the women had never before been raised to such dignity as to be allowed to wear feathers in their hair (25, p. 909)."

As a consequence of this religious excitement many "prophets" and "dreamers" appeared now among the Kiowa, notably a certain Bi'āñk'i, "Eater," who, "on account of his frequent visits to the spirit world, is now known as Asa'tito'la, which may be freely rendered "The Messenger." Concerning this "prophet" Mr. Mooney writes (25, pp. 909-910):

"For a long time he had been in the habit of going alone upon the mountain, there to fast and pray, until visions came to him, when he would return and give to his people the message of inspiration. Frequently these vigils were undertaken at the request of friends of sick people to obtain spiritual knowledge of the proper remedies to be applied, or at the request of surviving relatives who wished to hear from their departed friends in the other world."

The personality of this "prophet" was evidently quite beyond the ordinary, as Mr. Mooney indicates (25, p. 910):

"He is now about 55 years of age, quiet and dignified in manner, with a thoughtful cast of countenance, which accords well with his character as a priest and seer. His intellectual bent is further shown by the fact that he invented a system of ideographic writing, which is

nearly as distinct from the ordinary Indian pictograph system, as it is from our own alphabet."

20. *Other Indian "new religions" prior to 1890.* Among the "new religions" not already discussed, which antedate, more or less, the definite "Ghost Dance Religion" of 1890 may be mentioned the following:

(a) The "new religion," which, according to Mooney (25, p. 705), "was introduced in 1883 among the Potawatomi and Kickapoo of the Potawatomi and Great Nemaha agency in northeastern Kansas, by visiting Potawatomi, Winnebago and Ojibwa from Wisconsin. It is thus described:

"As usual, the ritual part consists chiefly of a ceremonial dance. In doctrine it teaches the same code of morality enjoined by the ten commandments, and especially prohibits liquor-drinking, gambling and horse-racing, for which reason the agents generally have not seen fit to interfere with it, and, in some cases have rather encouraged it as a civilizing influence among that portion of the tribes not yet enrolled in Christian denominations. The movement is entirely distinct from the Ghost dance, and may, perhaps, be a revival of the system preached by Kānakūk more than fifty years before. In 1891, the majority of the two tribes numbering in all 749, were reported as adherents of the doctrine. A large number of the Sauk and Fox, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi of Oklahoma, are also believers in the religion."

(b) *Crow "new religion" of 1887.* According to Mooney (25, p. 706), "it is probable that something of the Messianic idea entered into the promises held out to his followers by Sword-bearer, a Crow medicine-man in Montana in 1887. In a few months he rose to a position of very great influence, but was killed while resisting U. S. troops in November of the same year. He had prophesied that he would call down rain from heaven, which "would make the hearts of the white men like water, so that they would go back to their homes." It did rain furiously when the troops first set out and they withdrew to camp. But, when the real engagement took place, nothing wonderful happened and Sword-bearer fell in the first charge.

(c) *Apache "new religion" of 1881.* In southern Arizona in 1881, an Apache medicine-man, named Nakai'doklīni, set forth a "new religion." According to Mooney (25, p. 704):

"In the early part of this year, he began to advertise his supernatural powers, claiming to be able to raise the dead, and commune with the spirits, and predicting that the whites would soon be driven from the land. He taught his followers a new and peculiar dance, in which the

performers were ranged like the spokes of a wheel, all facing inward, while he, standing in the center, sprinkled them with the sacred *hoddentin* as they circled around him."

He offered to raise to life again two chiefs recently dead and began elaborate prayers and ceremonies to that end, but finally announced that "the dead chiefs refused to return because of the presence of the whites, but that, when the whites left, the dead would return, and that the whites would be out of the country when the corn was ripe." The U. S. authorities determined to stop his performances, and in August a skirmish occurred in which Nakai'dokli'ni, with others, was killed. As Mooney remarks, "the result was another in the long series of Apache outbreaks." The Arizona Apache do not seem to have taken up the "Ghost Dance" at all.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Mexico and Central America have had numbers of "new religions" of which but a few can be referred to here.

1. *Zapotec "new religion" of 1550.* Brinton (13, p. 32) informs us that the revolt of the Zapotecs, which took place in 1550, was "led by a native priest, who claimed to be an incarnation of the old god, Quetzalcoatl, the patron deity of the nagualists."

2. *Maya "new religion" and revolt of 1585.* Of this movement Dr. Brinton says (13, p. 31):

"It was led by Andres Chi, a full-blood Indian, and a descendant of the ancient royal house of the Cocomes. He also announced himself as a priest of the ancient faith, a prophet and a worker of miracles, sent to instruct his own people in a new religion and to give them an independent political existence. Seized by the Spaniards, he was charged with idolatry, sorcery, and disturbing the peace, and was ignominiously hanged."

3. *Tehuantepec "new religion" of 1661.* Concerning the revolt of the Tehuantepec tribes in 1661, led by "Don Pascual," a Mixe Indian, Dr. Brinton states (13, p. 32) that it was "not less definitely inspired by the same ideas."

4. *The Tzentals "new religion" of 1712.* This noteworthy combination of "new religion" and political revolt was led by a woman, whom Dr. Daniel G. Brinton immortalized in his *Maria Candelaria* (12).

The Tzentals, a people of Mayan stock, are the principal

native inhabitants of the State of Chiapas, in the extreme southeastern part of the Republic of Mexico, the region, in which, according to some authorities the civilization of the Mayas originated. At the village of Cancue, "there lived in the winter of 1711-1712, an Indian girl, about 19 years of age, named Maria Candelaria, the latter word being the Spanish equivalent for the English 'Candlemas,' from which festival of the Church it had doubtless been assigned her." The uncle of Maria, who seems to have been an orphan at the time, is said to have been a priest of the secret order of Nagualists, an organization, originating before the Spanish Conquest and said to be still in existence," blending the old pagan rites with modern Christian superstitions, and persistently hostile to the church and state introduced by the European invaders." (12, p. xxv.) That Maria was merely the tool of her uncle, as one writer suggests, is an idea contrary to the facts in the case, as Dr. Brinton points out, remarking that, "with a deep religious temperament, brooding long on the wrongs inflicted on her people, she passed into that condition of spiritual exaltation which precedes and prepares a revelation of the divine prescience." The first steps of the "new religion" are thus described by Dr. Brinton (12, p. x):

"On a certain day in the early spring of 1712, at a short distance from the village, the Holy Virgin Mary appeared to Maria, and commanded her to call together the people and have them erect a chapel on that spot, in which she and her uncle, not white priests, were to conduct the worship. The mandate was promptly obeyed by the villagers, the chapel was erected, and in it Maria Candelaria, who then took the name of Maria Angel de la Virgen, and Sebastian Gomez (her uncle), who adopted that of Gomez de la Gloria, performed the sacred rites.

"They soon revealed other intentions than that of merely repeating prayers. The chapel became the center of an active propaganda of national liberty. Men and women were instructed in the plans for the overthrow of the white invaders, and were sent forth to incite all the Tzental towns, and to those of affiliated tribes such as the Cholos, Quelens and Zotzils,—some say, far into Tabasco and Oaxaca.

"In all this Maria was the leading spirit. In her chapel, immediately behind the altar which had been erected to the Holy Virgin, was stretched a screen of Indian matting. When the faithful were assembled, she would retire behind this for a short time, and, reappearing, filled with the divine ecstasy, would pronounce the decrees of holy Mary and prophetic utterances concerning the struggle in preparation. She chose from her own sex some of her most effective acolytes and apostles."

To the demands of the parish priest of Cancue, and to the order of the Bishop of the diocese that the chapel should be torn down and the services discontinued, no attention was paid. Meanwhile the preparations for revolt were going steadily on and the conspirators "acknowledged Maria as their leader, and, in loyalty to her, adopted the title, 'soldiers of the Virgin.'" Some of the outbreaks were precipitate and premature, but by the beginning of August, 1712, "the insurrection was at its flood-tide, and on the tenth of that month a grand festival was held at Cancue in celebration of its success." Says Dr. Brinton (12, p. xii):

"Maria presided as high priestess and queen of the liberated nation. By her command, all the silver vessels, ornaments, money and books, which had been taken from the churches, were brought to Cancue and placed in her custody. They were concealed somewhere by her order and were never afterwards recovered.

"During the festival a general council of war was held, at which she also presided, and promulgated the laws of the new state, 'the main bearings of which,' says the historian Ordoñez, 'were that there should not remain a trace to indicate that a European had ever stepped on the soil of her land.' Her words, according to another, were that henceforth there should be in her domain, 'neither bishop nor priest, taxes nor king.'

"On that day Maria Candelaria was at the acme of her power and glory, undisputed and absolute mistress of her nation and its resources, commanding a victorious army of many thousand warriors, who idolized her as more than a queen, almost as an actual, living goddess."

Soon, however, jealousies, treacheries and other hindrances to complete and permanent victory made themselves felt. Some of the prominent Indian leaders were seized by fears or bribed by Spanish gold, and became lukewarm or advised submission, etc. Maria's aunt, out of jealousy, no doubt, "denounced her as an impostor, and offered herself as the only member of her family who was divinely inspired." These things led Maria to adopt the severest possible measures both against the Spanish and against those of her own people who played her false or threatened to do so. Her aunt was hanged and cruel punishments were visited upon soldiers, spies and others of the enemy. At the battle of Huistlán, October 20, 1712, the Indians were badly defeated, and their faith in Maria began to wane. Other defeats and reverses followed, and, on November 21, Cancue itself was taken by the Spanish troops and the revolt was ended,—the Indian general took refuge in

the mountains, but was soon captured and hanged. Maria and her uncle disappeared and were heard of no more. They were not killed, however, "and no promise of reward or threat of punishment could ever after tempt their tribesmen to disclose their fate."

The prominence of women in such events among the Mayan peoples of Central America is not confined to this revolt alone. As Dr. Brinton informs us (12, p. xviii):

"When the Tzentsals, in 1869, again revolted, the most prominent figure was the 'mystical woman,' as she was called, Augustina Gomez Checheb, the oracle of the ancient gods and chief inciter to war; and in 1885, when the Kekchis of Guatemala, under the leadership of Juan de la Cruz, attacked the white forces, it was still a woman, an inspired virgin, who gave them their orders in the gloomy cave-temple of Xucaneb."

According to T. Maler (24, p. 309), the "mystical woman" of the Tzotzil revolt of 1869 was known as "Santa Rosa." Dr. Carl Sapper (32, p. 205) states that the "Virgin Mary" of the cave of Xucaneb, figuring in the Guatemalan troubles of 1885, was a relative of Juan de la Cruz, the male leader of the uprising.

5. *Maya "new religion" and revolt of 1761.* This brief but bloody revolt "suddenly broke out in a number of villages near Valladolid, Yucatan, headed by a full-blood native, Jacinto Can-Ek." Concerning this man Dr. Brinton tells us (13, p. 30):

"When the appointed day arrived, Jacinto boldly announced himself as the high-priest of the fraternity of sorcerers, a master and teacher of magic, and the lineal successor of the famous ancient prophet, Chilan Balam, 'whose words cannot fail.' In a stirring appeal, he urged his countrymen to attack the Spaniards without fear of consequences."

Among other things, he is reported to have said:

"Be not afraid of their cannons and their forts; for among the many to whom I have taught the arts of magic there are fifteen chosen ones, marvelous experts, who by their mystic power will enter the fortress, slay the sentinels, and throw open the gates to our warriors. I shall take the leaves of the sacred tree, and folding them into trumpets, I shall call to the four winds of heaven, and a multitude of fighting men will hasten to our aid."

Dr. Brinton goes on to report (p. 31):

"Saying this, he took a sheet of paper, held it up to show that it was blank, folded it for a moment, and then spread it out covered with

writing! This deft trick convinced his simple-minded hearers of the truth of his claims, and they rushed to arms. He led them, clothed in the robe of the Virgin and with her crown on his head. But neither their enthusiasm nor their leader's art of magic availed, and soon Jacinto and his followers fell victims to the stake and the gallows. After their death, the dance of 'the tiger,' or of Chac-Mool,—the 'ghost-dance' of the Mayas,—was prohibited; and the use of the sacred drum,—the favorite instrument of the native priests,—was forbidden."

SOUTH AMERICA

South America has had its "new religions," of which a few characteristic ones may be briefly mentioned here.

1. "*New religion*" of *Indians of Upper Rio Negro ca. 1850*. About the middle of the 19th century, a Venezuelan Indian, named Venancio, announced himself as the Messiah, a second Christ, and the messenger of the creator. Koch-Grünberg (21, I, p. 39), gives a brief account of this "prophet," from Avé-Lallemant (5, II, p. 154), whose data are taken from Firmino. Venancio used to have his adherents beaten. The people gathered about him to take part in the drinking, wild dances and other excesses, and gradually a large number of the Indians became his disciples and joined him in his mad actions. The disturbances increased until a young officer with a number of soldiers was sent to the village. He drove away the "Messiah" and his followers, not without cruelties and the destruction of a number of villages, where the inhabitants had accepted the new doctrine. When Capt. Firmino, in 1857, made his daring expedition to the sources of the Rio Içána, to quiet the Indians of that region, he found most of the villages abandoned and partly burned down. About the same time, Firmino reports, "appeared a deserter, named Bazilio Melgueiro, who termed himself a new Christ, and repeated the doings of Venancio." In consequence of his teachings, the Indians of the region abandoned work and gave themselves over to unbridled laziness, etc.

2. "*New religion*" of *Guiana Indians ca. 1846*. Koch-Grünberg (21, I, 41) makes brief reference to the "new religion," reported by Appun at considerable length, both in an article in the *Familienjournal* for 1869 and in the second volume of his *Unter den Tropen* (4, II, pp. 257-264). The "medicine man of Beckeranta" was a Guiana Indian who had spent some of his youth in Georgetown, had been a sort of interpreter

to Schomburgk, and had learned a little English. His home was in Ibirimayeng at the foot of Mt. Roraima. When about 25 years of age he called the Indians together about him in the valley of Kukenam, and announced himself as the Messiah. Thousands of Indians of diverse and even hostile tribes gathered there. Huts were built and presents of all sorts were brought by every family to the "prophet,"—knives, scissors, mirrors, hooks, beads, needles, etc. He had a special hut built for himself, to hide from the people; and he had, it is said, a harem consisting of the choicest girls from all the Indian tribes. He rarely showed himself and then only behind a screen, or masked so as to have only his eyes free. For several weeks drinking festivals and kindred performances were kept up from sunset to sunrise,—the women were busy making *paiwari*, which the men drank in their hammocks. One midnight the "prophet," appearing suddenly before the people, gave a long talk in which he declared that the Great Spirit, Makunaima, had spoken to him and told him that his brown children were not destined to be driven out by the whites. He went on to say that the Indians were to have firearms instead of bows and arrows, to have white girls for wives, and also to have white skins instead of brown. In order that this might be properly accomplished, they were all to die within three nights, each by the hand of another, and on the night of the next full moon the bodies of the dead would arise and come down from Mt. Roraima in their white skins to enjoy the land.

When the Indians hesitated to begin killing one another, he clubbed some of them and broke their skulls so that they fell into the troughs in which the *paiwari* was being made. Off this liquor mixed with the blood of the dead he drank himself and gave others to drink. Then the passions of the Indians being fully aroused, intertribal hates made themselves felt, and some 400 people of both sexes and all ages, fell victims to a bloody massacre. The time of the full moon came and the Indians who were left waited all night for the "resurrection." The "prophet" said that it would occur within five days. Opposition began to gain strength and, when, on the evening of the fifth day, he arose to speak to the assembled Indians a herculean Indian (father of Wey-torreh, from whom Appun obtained his information), struck him down with a club. Nothing happened,—the "prophet" died of the wound, and his

body was eaten by the vultures. This "prophet" seems to have been a *piac* or "medicine-man," named Aivacaipu, and his settlement on Mt. Roraima was called by him *Beckeranta*, which signifies in the Creole-Dutch jargon of the region, "white man's land," in reference doubtless to the change of color which the Indians were to undergo.

3. "*New religion*" of *Içána Indians ca. 1875*. There was still living at his village on the Cubâte, a small tributary of the Rio Içána (from the right), when Dr. Koch-Grünberg (21, I, p. 39) passed the place in 1903, Anizetto, the "Messiah" of the Içána Indians, who some quarter of a century before had announced himself as a second Jesus Christ, and had been successful in making large numbers of Indians his followers and worshippers. According to Dr. Koch-Grünberg:

"He healed the sick by blowing and stroking and visited the villages with great ceremonies. He assured his followers that they needed no longer to labor in the plantations, for all things would grow of themselves, when he blessed the fields. From far away people came to consult him. They brought all they had to him, and held festival after festival, dancing days and nights together."

The first punitive expedition sent after him failed. He was captured by the next one and brought to Manaus, where for a whole year he had to perform hard labor on the cathedral in process of erection. After this he was allowed to go home as an irresponsible and harmless person. Dr. Koch-Grünberg informs us further:

"To-day he is no longer dangerous, but he is still a power among the Içána Indians, who believe in him so firmly that one is able to do much through him. His village on the Cubâte is a sort of *retiro*, in which he has gathered about him Indians of diverse stocks, even from the Caiary-Uaupés, scamps like himself, who are mostly guilty of something or other and find it necessary to go into hiding,—a kind of 'Mucambeiros,' like the escaped Negroes, who have made settlements in Dutch Guiana, and on the Trombetas, Urubú and other northern tributaries of the Amazon."

Anizetto is reported to be a hermaphrodite, as well as a curious vagabond.

4. "*New religion*" of the *Caiary-Uaupés in 1880*. In 1880, Dr. Koch-Grünberg informs us (21, I, p. 40), a medicine-man of the Arapáso, a tribe of Betoyan stock, on the central Caiary-Uaupés, gave himself out as the Savior. The following account is given of him:

"He called himself Vicente Christo and carried on dialogues with the spirits of the dead, and with 'Tupána,' the God of the Christians. He had his followers dance around the cross. He asserted that he was the representative of Tupána and the father of the missionaries, whom God, first at his request, had sent to the Caiary. Through the power of his personality, he carried away the minds of the Indians all along the river and had a great reputation. Soon, however, he misused his power. He bade his followers drive away all the whites, since they deceived the Indians. The people on the Rio Negro were alarmed and feared a rising of the Indians. So a number of valiant rubber-gatherers seized the 'Messiah,' gave him a good beating, and kept him in prison a few days at Barcellos. This caused his authority and his power to dwindle, and his adherents fell away. But even to-day Christo has imitators on the Caiary."

Dr. Koch-Grünberg observes further (p. 40):

"It is remarkable that this Messiah-movement starts up again and again in this same region. Evidently we have to do here with an old Indian legend in Christian garb, which is especially characteristic of the Arawakan tribes and is put to selfish advantage by individual cunning and unscrupulous shamans. This belief in a savior, perhaps the returning tribal hero, who is to deliver his people from the yoke of the oppressor, is world-wide."

Altogether, these "new religions" of the American Indians represent a most interesting aspect of the development of religion, from both the ethnological and the psychological point of view. In them one sees the importance of the individual in the origin and development of primitive culture; the sequence of attempts to reform society upon the individual's reform of himself; the close relations existing so often between religions and social or political movements; the widespread belief in the Messiah-idea and the possibilities of improvement and reform; the theory of a return to the "golden age" or the "good old days of yore;" the curious combination of a sort of generic humanity or poetic justice with race prejudices and individual ambitions, etc.; the utilization of ancient and native dogmas and ceremonies in combination with new and foreign ideas and practices; the existence in one and the same individual oftentimes of the "medicine man" and the prophet or reformer, who really accomplishes much; the alliance sometimes, to a remarkable degree, of really petty frauds and deceits with a high sense of truth and noble conceptions of personal and racial duty; the irrepressible human instinct for knowledge concerning the dead, and the use of alleged visits to the spirit world, communication with God, etc. ("Thus saith the Lord" is uni-

versal) as the basis for projected reforms not only in the religious world but everywhere else in life. These and many other things are aptly illustrated in the events which have taken place in America since the landfall of Columbus, and they had their predecessors, doubtless, long before then.

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SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS AN INDUCTIVE STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS

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I wonder if there are not others like myself who find much of the current literature on the psychology of religion not quite satisfying. These attempts, and there are many of them, to discover religious origins in the social interactions of primitive peoples, in the sexual functions of the race, etc., are interesting, partly as affording angles of vision from which the subject may be regarded, and partly as auto-revelations of individual psychology. But they are not conclusive. There is an element of speculation in them, of personal opinion, not to say bias, and of controversy, that advances the subject but little towards what may really be called scientific certainty. As between a man who shuts himself up within an environment of books and tries to discover religious origins and laws of the religious life by studying anthropological records or the manuscript revelations of adolescent experience, and the man of past generations who evolved religious psychology from the depths of his own consciousness, there would seem to be little choice. Neither can take a sufficiently detached view of his problem to resist that fatal compulsion of all minds to make personal preconceptions the selective principle in sorting out the facts.

The psychology of religion, in its attempts to discover how the religious life of man has come to be what it is, by fixing its attention so exclusively upon the genesis of racial religion, is merely in a transitional stage from the older introspective method to a really inductive method of investigating what religion is, and how it functions in human life. It is still in much the same condition that the science of geology was before Lyell's penetrating observation that the problem of how the world has been made may best be approached by studying the present processes of world-making. May it not be that it would profit by turning its attention somewhat from the far-off

possible origins of the religious consciousness in primitive ages, to an experimental study of what the religious consciousness is at the present time, in actual living boys and girls, and men and women? May it not be that in this more complex area of human knowledge also Lyell's observation holds true, and that the best way to approach the problem of how the race has become religious, is to study how it is now becoming religious in the unfolding consciousness of living individuals?

The present paper is written to record my own attempt to apply this principle in an elementary way. My study was undertaken some three years ago, not with any thought of contributing anything to the psychology of religion, but rather to emancipate myself and my students somewhat from the thralldom of books, and the endless, and hopeless, differences of opinion and controversies over religious problems that the makers of books so frequently stimulate. I felt that even to raise the question of experimentally establishing a single fact of religious consciousness, and to divert my own and my students' minds from the war of opinions by trying to answer such questions, would have a tonic intellectual, if not a moral and religious, effect upon us all. Such, indeed, has been the result; and the suggestions here presented have their chief purpose, not in adding to human knowledge, but in hailing some fellow student or teacher of the psychology of religion, who may be lost in the jungle of current religious psychology, and in pointing a way out.

Some four years ago, I began an investigation of backward children in a public school in Hartford. This investigation was primarily psychological, and employed the apparatus and methods of experimental psychology. It centered in a study of the fundamental processes of sense-perception, mental imagery, memory, attention, range of mental associations, the qualities of judgments formed from the various types of sense-perception, and the quickness and accuracy of reasoning evoked by different stimuli. The tests employed a chronoscope for determining simple and compound reaction-time for the different senses; an apparatus for testing the visual imagery and memory of words and numbers; tests of auditory imagery and memory; devices for testing tactile and kinaesthetic perceptions, memory, and judgments based thereon; various puzzle-tests, to determine perceptions and memories of form, color, and rela-

tions of parts; word and object psycho-analysis, to determine the kind and quality of mental associations; and lines, squares, and other figures, and concrete objects, to test perceptions of space-relations. The study also included physical tests, by means of standard apparatus, to determine the general vitality and the nervous and motor development and control that might affect mental states, or reveal them; as well as observations on the emotional qualities associated with qualities of physical and mental organization.

In the course of the first year of this work, my data began to indicate certain well-marked differences in the ways children get their experiences. I found some boys and girls that had great difficulty in forming mental images of visual symbols, especially words, and in retaining them; less difficulty in handling auditory symbols; and no difficulty at all in imaging and remembering tactile and kinaesthetic experiences. I found, too, that these peculiarities of primary sense-perception and memory, were associated with certain equally well-marked qualities of attention, judgment, range and quality of mental associations, etc.; as well as with certain qualities of the nervous and motor life, and, indeed, of the general organic constitution, scarcely less marked. On the other hand, I found boys and girls that had good, and, in some cases, unusual, facility in handling symbolic experiences, particularly of a visual character, that were poor in handling experiences derived from objects. Here, again, these primary qualities of sense-perception and memory were associated with certain other well-marked psychical qualities, and hardly less well-marked qualities of physical organization, particularly nervous and motor. Finally, I found a small number of boys and girls that had equal facility in handling symbolic and objective experiences; and here, too, the general psychical and physical organizations were more or less characteristic.

By degrees there emerged from my accumulating data what appeared to me to be two fundamentally different types of nervous and mental organization: (1) A type whose experience traverses the complete psychic and nervous arc, that is, begins in the objective world of sense-perceptions, and ends in the objective world of concrete activities; and (2) a type whose experience does not traverse completely the nervous and psychic arc, but is abridged, in greater or less degree, on the

side either of sense-perceptions or of motor response. Within each of these types two sub-types were suggested, though not clearly indicated among these elementary-school children. Later studies among more advanced pupils, however, revealed such sub-types quite clearly. To understand these sub-types, let us first recall that the completely-developed nervous are includes sensory end-organs, with their appropriate projection fibers; the associative mechanism, with its appropriate tangential fibers; and the motor end-organs, with their appropriate projection fibers. While the completely-developed psychic are includes sense-perceptions, all the various associative processes, and execution. Now, the objective type of mind found among these backward school-children appeared, in its more elementary form, normal in sense-perceptions and execution, but undeveloped in associative power, or reflection; while, in its more complete form, it appeared symmetrically developed in sense-perceptions, reflection and execution. On the other hand, the subjective type of mind appeared in a form more or less normally developed on the side of sense-perceptions and reflexion, but undeveloped on the side of execution; and also in a form undeveloped on the side of sense-perceptions but more or less normally constituted so far as reflexion and execution were concerned. These sub-types, as already stated, were merely suggested by my study of backward school-children, but they have been quite clearly determined by subsequent investigation among high-school pupils and students in professional schools.

The complete category of nervous and mental types suggested by my study of backward school-children and other grades of nervous and mental development, included therefore, the following: (1) the "object-minded" type, with its sub-types, the "sensory-motor" and the "sensory-reflective-motor," or, to use a briefer term, the "balanced" type; and (2) the "subjective-minded" type, with its sub-types, the "sensory-reflective" and the "reflective-motor." Since in the subjective type of mind experiences are initiated essentially through symbols, and are more or less closely associated with symbols throughout the entire psychic process, I have called this type of mind the "symbolic" type.

This clue to a classification of types of nervous and mental organization, obtained through my investigation of elementary-

school pupils, was followed up the second year in the Springfield, Massachusetts, High School, where I tested selected groups of students showing special aptitude for objective studies and symbolic studies, respectively, with corresponding inaptitude for the contrasting studies. A similar study was made among my students in the School of Pedagogy and the Theological Seminary. While the same general tests employed in the elementary school were used among these more advanced pupils, the tests for visual and auditory imagery of words, compound reaction time to objective and symbolic stimuli, and range and quality of mental associations, were much extended. The results verified and broadened the conclusions I had reached, more or less tentatively, the year before.

During this second year's study, also, I began my investigation of the primary processes of the religious consciousness among my own students in the schools already mentioned. The more distinctive phases of this investigation were as follows: (1) Tests of visual imagery for a series of concrete words, ranging from two to seven, which I found to be the limit of the memory span; (2) tests of visual imagery for a series of abstract words, ranging from two to seven; (3) tests of visual imagery for a series of nonsense-syllables; (4) tests of visual imagery for a series of miscellaneous letters of the alphabet; (5) compound reaction-time tests employing respectively objective and symbolic stimuli; (6) range and quality of mental associations connected with ten religious concepts, such as God, heaven, righteousness, salvation, etc., and (7) psychoanalysis by means of word-reactions to one hundred concrete and abstract terms. In addition to these experimental tests, information was secured from the subjects regarding their mental aptitudes and habits, their general emotional constitution, and their interests, particularly as involving religious experience.

The investigation among these professional students, representing considerable variety of religious beliefs and experiences, convinced me that the classification of nervous and mental types, suggested by my studies in other fields, is helpful in the analysis of the religious consciousness. My investigation of object-mindedness and symbolic-mindedness is still under way, both among elementary school children and more mature students, with constant reference to their religious implications.

While such investigation is essentially a study of individuals rather than masses, and so does not lend itself to impressive summaries of statistics, nevertheless, data are accumulating which serve to establish the fact, at least in my own mind, that there are fundamental differences in the ways minds get their experience, and that these experiences condition the religious consciousness, as they do every other mode of consciousness whatsoever. In general, I have found in reaction-time for concrete and abstract stimuli, the mental imagery of concrete and abstract words and other symbols, the reactions to concrete and abstract terms in psycho-analysis, and, more especially, in the character of mental associations evoked by typical religious concepts, that there are clear indications of object-mindedness and symbolic-mindedness, respectively. While this classification is not easy in all cases, nor mechanically perfect in any case, its broad distinctions are usually clearly revealed.

Moreover, the fundamental modes of reacting to experience thus indicated, and the resulting types of mental imagery and thought, are paralleled by characteristic qualities of physical, and, more especially, of neuro-muscular organization; by equally characteristic qualities of the instinctive and feeling life; and by religious interests and experiences more or less in harmony with the type of nervous and mental organization in question. Object-mindedness is concrete and dynamic in its experiences; symbolic-mindedness is more abstract and passive. The neuro-muscular qualities of the object-minded individual favor sense-contact with the objective world, and vigorous motor responses; while the corresponding qualities of the symbolic-minded individual favor less complete sense contact with the objective world and less active motor life. The object-minded individual conceives of God, heaven, the soul, righteousness, salvation, etc., under their more concrete and dynamic aspects; while the symbolic-minded individual conceives of them under their more abstract and static aspects. God and the human soul, for the object-thinker, are essentially immanent. Such a thinker finds it hard to understand the transcendent conception of these great entities of human thought. On the other hand, the symbolic thinker conceives of God and the human soul as essentially transcendent, and considers the object-minded thinker's disposition to relate God to the forces of nature, and the human

soul to physiological processes, as pantheistic and materialistic. Righteousness, sin, and salvation, for the object-minded religionist, are qualities of dynamic characters for the symbolic minded religionist, they are rather forms of adjustment to religious standards, and have, to a greater or less degree, a symbolic meaning. Religion, in short, for the object-minded individual, is a mode of life; while for the symbolic-minded individual, it is primarily, and essentially, a mode of belief, faith or feeling. The symbolic-minded individual, in his religious experiences, worships the Word; the object-minded individual, the Deed.

With the purpose of determining, so far as possible, how far my conclusions as to types of religious life applied to the human problems confronting me as a teacher, my tests and observations have now for three years taken the form of an analysis of the physical and mental qualities of most of the men and women in my classes. This has been more particularly true in the case of students with strongly marked traits. Many interesting and significant facts have thus been noted. For instance, students found by my tests to be object-minded, have usually, in their previous school experiences, been fond of scientific studies, or manual crafts or arts; while students found to be symbolic-minded, have usually been fond of classical studies. The students most inclined towards the typical theological studies and views of religion have usually been of the symbolic-minded type; while those more inclined to scientific studies of religious phenomena, and scientific views of religion, have usually been of the object-minded type. In the tests by means of psycho-analysis, women have usually shown more concrete qualities of mind; while the same is true in their mental associations connected with fundamental religious concepts. Every Japanese student in my classes, and every Armenian student, thus far tested, has been predominantly object-minded, both in the experimental analysis made of him and his reactions to religious and philosophical problems discussed in the class. The most typically object-minded student I have found since my study of this subject was undertaken, both in his general scholarship and in his religious thinking and life, was a young man from the Hawaiian Islands, whose father is a Chinaman and whose mother is a native Hawaiian. This student was also, it is interesting to

note, one of the clearest and most efficient thinkers I have ever instructed in any school, secular or religious. He had a quickness and accuracy of observation, a thoroughness in the analysis of facts, and a grasp of principles, that was unusual to a degree. His training had been largely objective, and the constitution of his mind illustrated almost perfectly the complete psychic arc of balanced sense-perceptions, reflective power, and executive ability.

Naturally, such an analysis of the religious consciousness and lives of individuals, leads one to an application of its results in interpreting the facts of religious history. First of all, the essential object-mindedness of children, in its elementary form of sensory-motor reactions, has its application to primitive races of men, and the more elementary minds of civilization itself. This elementary object-mindedness, with its correlative instincts and feelings, explains the crude objective religions found among the lower races, and the almost equally crude forms of Christianity found in Christian civilization. The more complex object-mindedness, representing the complete psychic arc of human experience, with its correlative instincts and feelings, explains the more rational and ethical religions of the world, and especially the modern scientific reconstruction of religious thought and activities. The symbolic-mindedness of specialized individuals and nations, on the other hand, with its characteristic instincts and feelings, explains those religions and religious movements that have laid prime stress upon dogmas, mystical rites, internal illumination, and the like. All the great dogmatic and mystical religions, as well as the dogmatic and mystical movements within Christianity, have probably had their origin in minds subjective, or symbolic, in their primary modes of consciousness, and have attracted to themselves those men and women similarly constituted.

The light shed upon great religious leaders by this method of analysis is equally illuminating. I suggest that John Calvin, for example, cannot be explained religiously without taking into account his nervous and mental organization. Here was a man whose life was abridged both on the side of complete sense-experience and of action, because of physical weakness. A highly reflective mind thrown back upon itself because of weak objective powers, gave itself to books and introspective

construction of a fabric of religion and life. The result was one of the most perfectly articulated religions of symbolic logic the world has ever seen. Not much different was Jonathan Edwards. The influence of such minds in elaborating, and perpetuating, dogmatic, or, in other words, subjective, or symbolic, religions has been incalculable. Up to within a few decades, object-minded religious leaders have been in a minority within the church, which throughout its history, has been dominated by minds imperfectly oriented to the objective world. So true is this, that religion has been quite synonymous with subjective and mystical experiences that set themselves sharply in contrast with what is called the secular world. It is only within the past few decades that object-minded thinkers have been able to remain within ecclesiastical boundaries and retain the integrity either of their intellects or their lives. But as modern science increases its domain of objective truth, and spreads its influence among the masses of men and women, such object-minded thinkers are certain to become religious leaders, as they have thus far been scientific leaders, simply because the primary factors of their consciousness are derived from complete human experience.

MATHIAS THE PROPHET (1788-1837)

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE EROTOGENESIS OF RELIGION

By THEODORE SCHROEDER,

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In New York City, at about 1825, a party of religious women were seized with a revival zeal. The erotic origin of their religious fervor soon found expression through an announcement, by the unmarried women, that the marriages of their sisters were dissolved, and that these holy ones had become perfectionists. A "holy club" was organized of Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists, in which only those spoke who were "moved by the Holy Ghost."

Mr. Pearson, a preacher among these zealots, was called "Elijah, the Prophet," though scoffers thought him deranged. When Mr. Pearson's wife died, he received a revelation announcing her forthcoming resurrection, in order that she might be delivered of a child promised by God. Hope of the resurrection having been dispelled, he discovered that he was the spiritual husband of another woman, whose body had become the habitation of the spirit of his deceased wife. One woman had promises from God that a childless wife should have a son, and "Elijah" Pearson, in a vision, saw her "big with child." There was another remarkable coincidence associated herewith. The childless lady, being away from home, "had a vision" that she was the "spiritual wife" of Mr. Pearson, the relation being so recorded in heaven. On another occasion, her husband being absent from her, she prayed fervently that the first person to enter her door might be the absent husband. Mr. Pearson was the first to enter, thus demonstrating that the record of her earthly marriage to another man was contradicted in heaven by the spiritual marriage there recorded between her and Mr. Pearson. Subsequently, it was discovered that on the same night when the lady had her first vision, Mr. Pearson had a similar one. So they immediately announced

themselves as spiritual spouses. The lascivious dream had become the revealed will of God. Mr. Pearson thereupon solicited also a bodily union, and declared both to her and to her husband that he had a revelation from God that their former marriage was not of God, and that the husband was not of God, and that he (Pearson) was to enter marital relations with the woman.¹

In spite of professions of celibacy, scandals were heard about the "holy club" and among its members there developed an extraordinary interest in the "harlots at Five Points." On the Bowery Hill, Mr. Pearson had established the Magdalena Asylum. Among the converts there they had those who, in the same confessions, included accounts of their fits and swooning at revival meetings and contemporaneous fornications. These confessions were very often repeated, and since even confessions of salacity are good for the soul, the more repetition, the more soul-goodness. For the benefit of such a woman, scripture was quoted to prove something about "harlots entering the kingdom of heaven before others." From the Magdalena Asylum there came reports of great lasciviousness, in which it was said that "women were generally the seducers," though they washed each other's feet in extreme humility. These feet-washing ordinances are said to have been accompanied by much indecorous conduct and the whole of the "holy club" was suspected of gross lasciviousness.

At about this stage of development, there came among them Robert Mathews, an artisan, and himself a revival product. At the age of 16, Mathews apprenticed himself to a carpenter, selecting this trade because it was the only one ever adopted by a "divine" being. Inability to adjust to his environment made frequent changes of employer necessary. During these migrations he became known as "Jumping Jesus," a soubriquet which he acquired by his alternate fits of superhuman piety and raving anger. Here is suggested the connection of the disturbances of pubescence and religious fervor. At this time he had also become somewhat famous "for his great familiarity

¹ These relations were found among the papers of Mr. Pearson; but it should perhaps be added that, after their publication, the woman in question of course denied all that charges her with active participation in this matter.

with scripture phraseology and his singular religious opinions concerning it." He insisted that baptism, to be religiously effective, must be accompanied by circumcision. He advocated vegetarianism, and became one of the most zealous and eloquent temperance orators. Then he began to call himself "Mathias, the Prophet,—Yea, and more than a Prophet." He was also the incarnate personification of God, the father of the first Adam, and later celebrities, and accordingly clothed himself gorgeously in purple and fine linen. Now he developed all those peculiarities of his theological system which subsequently he passed on to Joseph Smith, to be perpetuated in Mormonism.

Mathias first "got religion" through Dr. Finney of the Chatham Street Chapel, "whose powerful preaching had driven several persons mad." Our prophet proclaimed the vengeance of God, that the Kingdom of God was the only legitimate government, and announced his mission to be to take possession of the world in the name of the King of kings. While shaving with a Bible before him, he found a text which convinced him that no man who shaves his beard can be a Christian, and a flowing beard was the result. Some of the "holy club" accepted him as their spiritual guide, while others went to revelling in the mysticism of Swedenborg.

One of Mathias' first recorded complaints was against the clergy, for seeking to make converts of women, and visiting them in the absence of their husbands. Here, we still see the influence of the old ascetic ideal which was soon to be replaced by its opposite extreme, that being a frequent course of "spiritual" development. Pearson had received a revelation while traveling in an omnibus, in which God said: "Thou art Elijah, the Tishbite, and thou shalt go before me, in the spirit and power of Elijah, to prepare my way before me." Mathias accepted that, and proclaimed his own coming a completion of the revelation. Mathias, therefore, had the spirit of the Father,—he was God upon earth because the spirit of God dwelt in him. Thus, Mathias' mission began, and immediately the washing of each other's feet was indulged in, according to the practice already in vogue. The Kingdom of God was now inaugurated, the time of abundance was at hand,—"the only heaven is on the earth." Communism was the divine order. "They who teach women are of the wicked."—"Woman is the capsheaf of

the abomination of desolation—full of all deviltry.” Mathias denounced the command to “increase and multiply,” declaring that “God had never authorized *wicked* people to multiply, and that the preachers who, in the marriage ceremony, said that God had joined them together, were sent of the devil.” By thus relying upon his superior Godliness, to exempt him from the ascetic abstinence there comes again the suggestion of a causal relation between sensualism and piety.

By revelation, Mathias discovered himself to be a Jew, and thereupon his wife left him without divorce. A communistic society was established as the divine order of the Kingdom, and the New Jerusalem was at hand. When rivals pretended to receive and deliver to Mathias messages from Jesus, they were promptly rebuked and even chastised. Resurrection was denied, but the spirits of former saints, it was believed, would enter the bodies of the present generation, and thus begin a heaven upon earth. Pearson and Mathias were the first fruits; “Paradise” was about to reappear with the destruction of the wicked. The spirit of Mathias of old animated Jesus, but, at the second coming, Mathias, the present, was animated by the spirit of God, and could forgive sins. Mathias was, therefore, the rightful “Father” of the Kingdom.

It will be remembered he had been deserted by his wife. In the “Kingdom,” at Sing Sing, was one Mrs. Folger, who, with her husband, were followers of Mathias. Mr. Folger, however, lived in the city because of his business. Soon Mathias and Mrs. Folger discovered in each other “match spirits.” Mathias now announced that, before coming to Sing Sing, he had opened to him a “vision,” in which “he had seen her [Mrs. Folger] as the mother of the institution he was about to raise, so that when he did see her, he instantly recognized her as the object of his vision.”—“He, too, represented himself as Adam, the beginner of a new order, and when God made Adam there was somewhere an Eve to be brought to light in the course of events. These were the conversations by day, and they were very naturally followed by dreams and revelations by night; and then, again, each went to the Lord with all humility, to seek the interpretation.” Now came carriage-rides by day, a few prolonged, earnest and whispered conversations before the fireplace by night. Both were suffering from the absence of a legal spouse. The affectionate attention of Mrs. Folger increased,

as she daily discovered that her spirit more and more assimilated to his spirit, while he was loud in her praise, for her wisdom, gentleness and purity, and other spiritual qualities, during which time large portions of the property, both of Mr. Pearson and Mrs. Folger, were made over to Mathias."

Mrs. Folger now "claimed to be a virgin, and considered herself either more than woman, or Mr. Folger less than man, and declared that she received no satisfaction from the latter, and great satisfaction from Mathias' spiritual and bodily superiority, and offered some physical reasons why she should be a virgin, and yet have children, which she attributed to extraordinary circumstances on particular occasions and after fasting." How just like Mrs. Eddy's process of begetting flesh and blood offspring, which rests on no sexual basis! Brother Pearson discovered that his was a "match spirit" for Mrs. Folger, but, unfortunately, that lady failed to see the "match" in a man so much older as Pearson was. On one occasion, Mrs. Folger saw two columns of smoke ascend and unite. These represented herself and Mathias, so she declared. The workings of the spirit became more and more powerful, so that now it came to pass that Mrs. Folger bathed Mathias in the bathroom behind locked doors, and the other inmates of the "Kingdom" observed that it took an unusually long time to complete the task. This washing, it was afterwards admitted, was performed in perfect nudity. All doubt as to their being "matched spirits" was now removed. Mrs. Folger immediately sped to New York, to apprise her husband of the precious discovery, and to induce him to consent to her becoming the wife of Mathias. Folger demurred, but was soon persuaded that it was all the work of God. He returned with his wife to the "Kingdom" at Sing Sing, and there formally turned her over to Mathias. A ceremony was performed, and Mrs. Folger and Mathias went to her bedchamber, while the doleful and faithful Folger went to the deserted room of Mathias. It would seem, however, that, in order to persuade Folger of the godliness of all this, it had been hinted to him that a younger woman, the daughter of Mathias, as yet unknown to Folger, was his spiritual mate. This daughter was living with the deserted wife of Mathias at Albany. Folger went at once to claim her, and she consented to go with him to her father. On their way down, she for the first time imparted to Folger that she was

already married to one Laisdell. However, such trifles could not be allowed to interfere with "spiritual matchings," so they slept together on their way back to Sing Sing, after an acquaintance of less than three days. When Mr. Folger and Mrs. Laisdell appeared before Mathias, her father proclaimed her adultery with Mr. Folger to have operated as a nullification of her former marriage, and restored her eligibility for new matrimonial ventures. She and Mr. Folger seemed readily to discover in each other "matched spirits," and were promptly sealed to one another in a ceremony involving the expressed consent of all in the "Kingdom." Mr. Folger first kissed the bride, and then he kissed Mathias, after which the kissing went all around the circle, everybody kissing the remainder, including the negro cook. Verily, divine love was triumphant in the "Kingdom of God on earth."

The enthusiasm grew to higher and higher degrees of "spirituality." Baptism by sprinkling was denounced. That pleasant ecstacy, often felt but seldom understood, which is induced in woman by the pastor's touch, when her clothes are few and wet, did not satisfy these zealots. Like some early Christians, they declared in favor of the more intense stimulation of immersion in the nude, which was followed by men and women anointing one another with oil. With this the "spiritual" unions multiplied and became polygamous.

At first, it was probably conceived that, since Mathias and Mrs. Folger believed themselves pure, they had no occasion for masks of shame, and as a trial of faith had sought to subdue their passions under the greatest temptation. This was offered as an explanation of their first washing. Soon Mathias came to preach, "that all shame was sin, or consciousness of want of purity, and consequently that the most pure would have the least shame." It was charged by the *N. Y. Sun* that, under this doctrine, Mathias would, in a promiscuous company of men and women in the nude, first wash himself, thus communicating a holiness to the water, and then with it sprinkle and wash the bodies of his disciples. This was a spiritual cleansing in lieu of baptism, and enjoined as a weekly exercise. Some denied the doctrine of transmitting holiness to the water, but admitted that the "cleansing" was done in a state of nudity and with both sexes in the same room. These performances seem to have been accompanied by extraordinary acts of humil-

ity, which give a genuine proof of sincerity. One brother, who believed in doing and not talking, proceeded in humility to kiss the foot of the colored cook. It may also be of passing interest to know that a holy son, promised Mrs. Folger by God through Mathias, proved at birth to be a girl.

The former "spiritual" phases became less influential, and the whole scheme seemed to degenerate into ordinary vulgarity and considerable promiscuity. Persecution followed. There were arrests for blasphemy, theft, obtaining money under false pretences, assault, insanity and murder. Mathias was acquitted on all the more serious charges, but convicted of assault in whipping his polyandrous daughter for disobedience. One follower, however, was adjudged insane. Internal dissensions also arose, partly over family matters, and in 1835, the "Kingdom" was broken up, and Mathias, after finishing his jail sentence, traveled west. During the same year he went to the Mormon Prophet, Joseph Smith, and remained several days as the latter's guest. It was from Mathias that the Latter Day Saints derived their esoterics, later put into practice at Nauvoo and Salt Lake City.

In the foregoing recitals, which cover the eccentricities of these religionists, the interdependence of carnal impulse and spiritual credence is so apparent as to need no explanatory comment. The road from spiritual love to celibacy, to "matched spirits," to sexual promiscuity in the flesh and final abandon to carnal appetites was here rapidly traveled. Yet these people were not the scum of society. The leaders were conspicuous in their respective churches, and successful business men. Mr. Pearson's estate was estimated at \$80,000, which was a very large sum a century ago. Unusual salacity and the extreme of spirituality here as elsewhere go hand in hand, without regard to class distinction. It is a matter of physiology, and sexual psychology, to which the theology is merely incidental.

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MODERN CRITICISM AND THE ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY REV. ARTHUR E. WHATHAM

Any settlement of the problem of Christian union, a consummation devoutly wished for by all sincere Christians of every name and belief, seems hopeless along the lines of so-called orthodox or traditional criticism. When, however, the subject is approached from the modern critical standpoint, it seems possible of a speedy solution.

The whole difficulty presumably centers in the assumption that our Lord founded a Church and appointed its ministry with power to establish its permanent government. Such a view, however, to the present writer, is incapable of standing a critical examination, which, to put it briefly, shows that the Christian Church *properly* so-called was *not* established by our Lord, *nor* its ministry appointed by him.

The assembling of the American Colonists to arms was based upon faith in the people; the assembling of the first Christians into association was based upon faith in Christ. The first produced an army, which resulted in the establishment of the American Commonwealth; the second, a Church whose object it was to establish a kingdom, the kingdom of heaven on earth. The Church itself was never meant by Christ, at any time, to be the permanent institution it subsequently became. This was to have been the kingdom, of which the Church was but a brief preliminary preparation, or federation, for the establishment of the kingdom in the lifetime of the first disciples of our Lord. Thus it is that the Rev. Willoughby C. Allen says of the Church in Matt. 16:18:

“We must, however, be careful not to identify the *ἐκκλησία* with the Kingdom. There is nothing here to suggest such identification. . . . The kingdom is here, as elsewhere in this Gospel, the kingdom to be inaugurated when the Son of Man came upon the clouds of heaven. . . . The *ἐκκλησία* on the other hand, was the society of Christ’s disciples, who were to announce the coming of the kingdom, who were to wait for it, and who would enter into it when it came” (*Comm. St. Matt.*, p. 177).

Mr. Allen further tells us that all Christ's disciples constituted His *ἐκκλησία* by being knit together in a community or society in which all were brethren possessing a common authority to legislate for the Church's needs. Their special work was to propagate Christ's teaching by proclaiming the doctrine of His kingdom, making disciples by baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amongst the general body of disciples all equally commissioned to this end (Matt. 28:18), twelve in particular had already been chosen and commissioned (10:5), who were further to be rulers in the kingdom to be established on earth in the lifetime of the present generation (*Ib.*, pp. lxi, lxx, lxxvi, 176, 177—*Internat. Crit. Comm.*). Mr. Allen makes no special reference to the seventy disciples that received also a prior similar commission to the twelve (Luke 10:1). That these with the twelve were so chosen as officials connected with the restored kingdom of Israel, is the only possible solution of such a choice in either case. ("Apostle,"—HDB; *Ency. Bib.*; Lindsay, *The Acts*, Vol. I, p. 39). The appointment of a specific number of seventy disciples to convey the same message as the twelve, has never received the attention it merits, and what has been said about it is not satisfactory. As we have said, the only solution as to the choosing of this particular number is in its correspondence to the original officials of Israel, the seventy elders of Israel (Num. 11:16). The appointment of the seven indicates the same association. The Hebrew village was ruled by a council of seven men, and as the disciples were, in accordance with the words of Christ, looking for the restoration of a Jewish kingdom, they completed his numbers of twelve and seventy by adding to their own the seven men of the Jewish community (Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 117). We see all this in the question the disciples put to our Lord,—“Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?” (Acts 1:6). Lindsay says here that “the disciples were still thinking of an earthly kingdom” (*The Acts*, Vol. I, p. 39), as though this was unnatural, the outcome of a misunderstanding of our Lord's predictions as to the character and place of the kingdom for whose speedy advent he had bid them look. On the contrary, it is plain, as Mr. Allen holds, that nothing in St. Matthew's Gospel “suggests any other locality for it than the renewed earth.” This, of course, means that its character will

be in harmony with present earthly conditions. Thus we have Christ's reference to thrones, and the drinking of wine (19:28; 26:29), as actual, that is, literal, features of the new kingdom.

Prof. Shailer Mathews sums up the view of modern scholarship which we have given above in the following passage.

"The historical-critical view sees in the expectations of New Testament Christianity survivals of Jewish eschatology. Such a view does not deny an element of truth in this expectation, but regards the belief as due to the attachment to Jesus of Jewish expectations now seen to be impossible of realization" ("Parousia," HDB).

The question to settle is,—“How far was this Jewish eschatological view held or countenanced by Jesus Himself?”—and it is admitted that “Jesus to some extent utilized the eschatology of His day, but that His references have been developed and made specific by the Evangelists” (*Ib.*). In Hastings's larger Dictionary of the Bible (to which we shall hereafter refer simply as HDB, and the smaller as HDBS) the conclusion of the article, “Parousia,” is that the Jewish eschatological significance represented in the sayings of our Lord is “due to an imperfect apprehension by the disciples of the Master's meaning” (Vol. III, p. 679a).

In his now famous sermon on “The Apocalyptic Element in Christ's Teaching,” delivered before the University of Cambridge, May 8, 1910, Professor (now Dean) Inge, said,—“Our Lord is recorded in the Gospels to have made predictions which certainly have not been, and cannot now be fulfilled” (*The Guardian*, May 13, 1910). Answering his critics in a later issue (June 3), Dr. Inge said, “It has been proved beyond dispute that the apocalyptic prophecies in the New Testament point to a return or coming of the Messiah in the near future only, these prophecies have not been, and cannot now be fulfilled,” and he instanced especially Matt. X, 23; Mk. IX, and I Thess. IV, 15.

In his sermon Dean Inge faced the question how far in the reported Jewish Messianic statements of our Lord have we His views as He actually expressed them. Adopting the conclusion of Hastings's smaller Dictionary, he said,—“If there are a few passages in our Gospels which might serve to flatter the fond hope of the disciples that such a return as they expected was near, is it not extremely likely that they are colored by that pathetic longing—so very natural in the circumstances

—to see their Lord vindicated as the Son of God before the eyes of the world?" He, however, immediately added: "I do not wish entirely to exclude the possibility that our Lord in becoming man may have been willing to share, to some extent, the current popular illusions, both with regard to the Messianic hope and demoniacal possession."

To us it seems that candid criticism must reject the foregoing explanation of our Lord's recorded sayings, that is, that they were only partially His, their actual significance being hidden by a coloring put upon them by the writers of the New Testament. Where are we to draw the line between the coloring and the actual significance as intended by our Lord? Statements recorded as His which cannot now be fulfilled at all as He is reported to have made them, cannot possibly be viewed as colored by the Evangelist to mean something partially different from what they actually meant as spoken by Jesus. In many cases there is no room for coloring. Dr. Inge says that our Lord is recorded as making predictions which were not, and cannot now be, fulfilled, and some of these unfulfilled and impossible to be fulfilled predictions were as to the time of His coming. Now how could these be colored so as to mean something different from what our Lord meant? We presume that in these cases HDBS and Dr. Inge would say that here to some extent our Lord utilized the eschatology of His day, here He was willing to share to some extent, the current popular illusions. But how far did He share it in the cases cited, and how far in others? How far with HDB are we to regard the recorded eschatological sayings of our Lord as due "to an imperfect apprehension by the disciples of the Master's meaning?"

The conclusion is that such explanations as these critics offer of the cases in point cannot possibly be accepted, since it would leave every utterance of our Lord recorded in the New Testament as of doubtful meaning, and would thus reduce His statements therein to little or no value. We are, consequently, bound, if we accept them at all, to accept our Lord's recorded sayings in the New Testament as definitely representing what He Himself actually intended to be understood. If, however, we take this position, then we have to accept the conclusion that our Lord on certain topics expressed views which were a mistake. The possibility of Christ making mistakes is freely

admitted by the Rev. Thomas Adamson, late examiner for divinity degrees in Edinburgh University, in his *Studies of the Mind of Christ*, and he gives instances in which he definitely says,—“Here, then, He was mistaken” (pp. 20, 67). The candid acknowledgment that our Lord made mistakes in certain departments of knowledge is essential, if much of the New Testament is to have any clear or reasonable meaning for us. Nor does this in any sense detract from his unique divine character. We cannot stop to discuss this matter here, this we have done elsewhere in an article entitled, “The Reasonableness and Comfort of the Kenotic Theory.” Here we may say, however, that the Kenotic theory is now regarded as a subject for special treatment in Bible dictionaries. Thus under “Kenosis” in HDBS, we have the following statement.

“The language of the New Testament appears to warrant the conclusion that the Incarnation was not a mere addition of a manhood to the Godhead, but that ‘the Son of God, in assuming human nature, really lived in it under perfect human conditions, and ceased from the exercise of those Divine functions, including the Divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience.’ ”

To this we may add the statement of Bishop Gore, “that the activity (and consciousness) of the Godhead was, by His (Christ’s) own will, restrained and limited within the sphere of the Incarnation, to allow the real action of the manhood and its own proper energy” (*Dissertations*, p. 211).

Of course, it is one thing to acknowledge with many great Anglican divines that our Lord was ignorant of certain things, and another to assert that He actually made mistakes, but, unless we further acknowledge this, we are left with an impossible alternative, viz., that the significance of many of His recorded sayings is not His teaching, but solely the misunderstanding of the writer putting his own thought into the mouth of our Lord as actually spoken by Him. We are, therefore, necessarily thrown back upon the Kenotic theory, which alone explains the difficulty satisfactorily.

From what we have now said we are in a position to state that the definite institution, the kingdom of heaven, predicted by Christ to come in the lifetime of the then generation, did not come, and cannot now come, nor could it ever have come in the sense indicated by our Lord. In saying this, where do we differ from Dean Inge, and the writers of the Biblical

articles referred to? Simply here. *They* say that our Lord did not come, and cannot now come, as the Gospels inaccurately report Him as saying He would come. *We* say that the statements of the Gospel are correct, the mistake being made by Christ Himself, who had adopted completely the Jewish conception of the approaching Messianic kingdom. Surely this is better than assuming that Christ lent Himself partially to this view, and the Evangelists further extended His conception into an utterly erroneous apprehension of the whole subject. But if the kingdom of heaven did not come as Christ predicted, the Church, its originally intended brief preliminary society, took its place. But this was only with the final passing away of the last surviving apostle, St. John. When this disciple wrote, "Yea: I come quickly" (Rev. 22:20), he was expressing the same belief as I P. 4:7—"But the end of all things is at hand," and James 5:8—"for the coming of the Lord is at hand." Now if the Church which had no officials appointed by Christ, all its members being of equal authority, finally took the place of the expected kingdom, then the officers appointed by Christ for this kingdom only never actually held any position of authority at all anywhere. And this is exactly what we find, since, while Matthias was at first appointed to fill the place of Judas, in order that the company of the twelve rulers of the expected kingdom should be complete, this is the last indication we have that any such exclusive number of chief officials was assumed to be necessary.

A candid examination shows that all subsequent particulars, all further developments in the growth of the Christian society, fit in exactly with what we have described. No other view of the matter than that we have given explains why the twelve apostles remained for so many years in Jerusalem after the reception of the promised gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. It was the Hellenist, Stephen, not the twelve, who first broke the exclusiveness of Judaism; it was the rank and file of the added adherents, not the twelve, who commenced the work of carrying Christianity to the world, for the twelve, including Peter at first until his vision, utterly opposed any such extension of their work. Prof. Thatcher tells us that "In some respects, the life of Jesus was a failure," which he explains by saying, "As a Messiah to the Jews His life was a failure, for as a nation they rejected Him and His teachings"

(*The Apostolic Church*, pp. 62, 63). He does not, however, tell us plainly that it was also a failure in the eyes of the first disciples themselves, but this is what he practically and logically insinuates. He tells us that the twelve "still thought of the Messiah's kingdom as Jewish," that "they still expected that they would be the great ones in this kingdom, and hence it was necessary that their number be complete," and "that they thought of their mission as political, and as being directed first of all, if not exclusively, to the Jews" (pp. 36, 69, 70).

Now, while it is true that the Apostles with the first Christians held these views, far from it being strange that they should have done so, it would have been strange if they had not, since the expected kingdom had been so pictured to them by Christ Himself. The kingdom was only for the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the disciples were not to go to any one but these, and almost before this work could be completed the kingdom should come (Matt. 10:5, 6, 23; 15:24).

Mr. Adamson says, "at Pentecost the kingdom came, as Mark says, 'with power'" (p. 195; Mk. 9:1). We believe that this is true, which was the time the disciples from the conversation with Jesus thought it would come, and so practically asked Him if this *was* to be the time,—“wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel” (Acts 1:6). Jesus, however, had previously told them that He did not know, and so now reminds them of this fact (Matt. 23:36; Acts 1:7). The kingdom, as Mr. Adamson says, did come at Pentecost, but we add, not in the form expected and outlined by Jesus. We see by connecting Jno. 1:11; 5:40 with Matt. 10:5, 6; 23:36, that He had expected His own, the Jews, to receive Him as their special Messiah. When, however, contrary to His expectation they rejected Him, He did not give up His claim to be their Messiah, or His conception of the kingdom to come, He simply chose others to share it with Him. But the kingdom did not come as Jesus had expected it, and as He had told His disciples it would come, commissioning twelve and seventy of them as its special rulers. It came on the day of Pentecost as the Church, the assumed preparatory federation, which was expected to be speedily absorbed into the kingdom. Here neither the twelve Apostles nor the Seventy "others" had any official position. The latter are not heard of again at all;

while of the former only three are mentioned. The Acts of the Apostles becomes really the Acts of the Disciples. At first no officers are chosen for the Church. Shortly afterwards seven men are officially appointed to "serve tables," who, however, quickly take up evangelistic work to which they were not specially called except by the Church's general charter to all believers. Later, St. Paul informs us that God had placed in the Church Apostles, in whom the original twelve were quickly absorbed, prophets, teachers, etc. (I Cor. 12:28). But this was only a temporary provision of gifts, since St. Paul himself looked for the speedy coming of the kingdom in his lifetime ("Parousia," HDB; I Thess. 4:15; I Cor. 15:51, 52). The "helps" and "governments," are given in a note in the Variorum Edition of the Bible as the "diaconate" and the "functions of the presbyterate." There is here no *settled* Church government such as we understand by this expression. This did not come until the passing away of all the Apostles, for, as we have said, even St. John was expecting the Parousia speedily. With the passing away of the Apostolic age, consummation of the kingdom was seen to lie in the distant future. Then it was that a permanent ministry took shape, Ignatius crystallizing it into a threefold form with the bishop as its chief ruler.

With the passing away of the original form of the kingdom, there passed away also the conception of salvation as connected with it. Scholars now admit that the Apostles "doubtless expected the eschatological cataclysm to occur in their day," that is, "the great and terrible day of the Lord," to which St. Peter referred, and touching which his hearers exclaimed, "what shall we do," meaning, how shall we be saved (Joel 2:31; Acts 2:20, 37; "Day of the Lord,"—HDBS).

We may sum up in the words of Dr. Inge: "The new wine of Christianity burst the wineskins of Messianism in a very short time; but no wine was lost—the treasure was transferred to other vessels."

From all that we have now said, it will be seen that the Church of Christ, whose commission to preach and baptize, embraces every member equally, is not tied to any form of government, but is absolutely free to arrange all this for herself. Thus, as we said in commencing this article, the modern critical standpoint touching the origin of the Christian Church

leaves her absolutely free to legislate in all matters as she deems best for her own good. Of course, this standpoint is, as Dean Inge said, "the storm centre of Christian apologetics at the present time." To us he himself appears to hold a strange position in this storm, illogically attempting to hold on to certain views which are absolutely impossible in the face of others he accepts. We are not here dealing, however, with what we consider to be his lack of consistency. We take simply what he definitely acknowledges, viz, that "our Lord is recorded in the Gospels to have made predictions which certainly have not been, and cannot now be fulfilled." He attempts to escape from this difficulty by assuming that these predictions are not entirely as our Lord made them, but colored by the Evangelists, who extended them to include their own views of the matter. We have already said that such exegesis would leave us with practically nothing at all of what our Lord actually did say. We hold, therefore, that it is better to accept the recorded sayings as definitely expressing what our Lord thought in His acceptance of the Jewish apprehension of the Messianic kingdom as an earthly kingdom. The Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the need of a Saviour, the Divine Sonship of Christ, the Incarnation of Jesus, all these are truths which stand out infinitely clearer, when the husk of Jewish Messianism is definitely recognized as the old wineskin into which the new wine of Christianity was poured, poured by Christ Himself.

We cannot do better than close with the words of Mr. Adamson: "There seems then to be strong ground for believing that Christ had, as a rule, no knowledge of things future, even of things in the near future, and that, too, although He was Himself to be affected by their occurrence" (*Ib.*, p. 13). As humanly a child of His age, He too conveyed His message to us in earthen vessels, although divinely He was none other than the Incarnate Son of God.

A NOTE ON THE ETHICAL IDEAS OF CHILDREN

BY REV. ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY,
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The following account of an episode of a more or less ethical character is furnished by a friend under whose observation it came. The facts recorded may be of interest to students of the evolution of human morals.

Tommy and Jack, 8 and 9 years, respectively, were playing in front of the open fire, when the following conversation was overheard. The boy "Jimmie" referred to was a year or two older, much larger and stronger, and had bullied and tormented the younger boys of the neighborhood for some time previous.

Tommy—Let's have this stick for Jimmie, and burn him up.

Jack—Yes! he'll burn good in there now; the coals are just right.

They arrange the short, thick piece of wood, which was to represent Jimmie, carefully in the hottest part of the fire, and a sizzling sound is heard.

Then they exclaim gleefully:

"I hear him squeal, he's burning good."

"But he's burning too fast. Let's burn him slower, so he'll last longer."

Dancing with glee, they exclaim:

"Hear him squeal and holler!"

"We must make him burn a long time, 'cause he's been so bad."

Then, after watching silently a moment:

Tommy—He'd make good eating about now.

Jack—We might eat him up when he's cooked a little more.

Tommy—Yes! that would be good enough for him. Wouldn't it be great fun to burn him up and then eat him?

Suddenly a new idea strikes them, and they take up several small sticks of different sizes and set them up near the fire. Then:

Jack—Let's have this for his father and mother, and make them watch him burning, because they didn't make him a better boy.

Tommy—And Charley (the younger brother) must help the fire, because he always told Jimmie where we were, and helped on his side.

Jack—Now, we must make him squeal some more, so they'll hear him; and they can't run away,—they've all got to stay and see him burn.

At this point, after listening in astonishment to this blood-curdling conversation between two little boys, who were ordinarily too tender-hearted to kill even a fly, the onlooker felt compelled to interfere, and remarked that this seemed a very strange kind of play for two nice little boys, with good homes and kind fathers and mothers, to be playing, and that such things should only be expected from boys who had never been told what was right and good. They both looked up, with perfectly *soulless* expressions of glee upon their faces, and said, alternately and together:

“Well, it's what Jimmie deserves. He's knocked down our forts, and chased us, and washed our faces, and told lies about us all winter, and he ought to be burnt up.”

Then the following conversation ensued between the onlooker and the boys:

Onlooker—But, would you really like to see anybody burned up?

Boys—Yes! Jimmie.

Onlooker—I don't think you would really want anybody to be burned to death, if you understood what it was.

Boys—Yes! we'd burn anybody like Jimmie, anytime.

Onlooker—But it isn't right to make anybody suffer, no matter how much they may have troubled us.

Boys—Well, he's made us suffer, and we ought to make him suffer.

It seemed best to drop the subject at this time, only forbidding them to play any such thing again. The onlooker was unable to find any way of making them realize what they were doing, or feel anything but a savage satisfaction in burning in effigy the boy whom neither of them, separately or together, had been able to conquer.

LITERATURE: BOOKS, ETC.

A psychological study of religion, by JAMES H. LEUBA. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912. 371 p.

This book, dedicated to G. Stanley Hall and Edmund Sanford, is a continuation of the work which the author really began by the publication of his doctor's thesis in 1896. He has persistently worked in this field and now gives us a study which will take its place among the best hitherto made. He takes certain steps distinctly in advance of James. He discusses religion as a type of rational behavior, then takes up constructive criticism of current conceptions of religion. In Part Second, he discusses the origin of magic and of religion, the mental requirements of the appearance of magic and religion, the origin of the idea of impersonal powers, the making of gods and their characteristics, the emotions, etc. In Part Third, religion is discussed in its relation to morality, mythology, metaphysics, psychology and theology. The fourth part deals with the latest forms and the future of religion. It is a work which deserves and we hope may have in these columns a fuller review later.

Science and religion in contemporary philosophy, by ÉMILE BOUTROUX.
Tr. by Jonathan Nield New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.
400 p.

The book opens with a brief review of the relation between the two from ancient to modern times. Part Second considers the naturalistic tendency beginning with Auguste Comte. Then, in successive chapters, Spencer and the unknowable, Haeckel and monism, psychology and sociology are discussed. The next part treats of the spiritualistic tendency, beginning with Ritschl and radical dualism and also incidentally treating W. Herrmann and Sabatier. Other chapters discuss religion and limits of science, the philosophy of action, William James on religious experience.

The economic principle of Confucius and his school, by CHEN HUAN-CHANG.
New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911. 2 vols., 756 p. (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Vol. XLIV, Whole Number 112.)

The editor is right in saying that no one can read these pages without becoming convinced that Confucianism is a great economic as well as a great moral and religious system and that it contains most, if not all, of the elements necessary to the solution of the serious problems that confront China to-day. Its institutions of family, marriage, private property, position of woman and the rest have a peculiar value to us just now. It will be a great surprise to many Orientals to realize how much there was in Confucianism that bore upon or even paralleled advanced modern ideas of to-day. The chapters on consumption, happiness for rich and

poor, ways of getting there, standards of expenditure, factors of reproduction, labor, population, nature, capital, agriculture, industry, commerce and other branches, wages, rent, interest, profits, monopoly, demand and supply, control of grain, loans, and public relative taxations, direct and indirect show how far the ancient sage or his disciples or both traveled along the same practical pathway that the West has followed.

The Egyptian elements in the legend of the body and the soul, by LOUISE DUDLEY. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1911. 179 p. (A dissertation presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, April, 1910.)

This rather modest little work is really a contribution to the history of psychology, for it takes us back to very early Egyptian days. We have here carefully compiled an account of how the old Egyptians thought the soul was separated from the body, the angels by whom souls are removed, the dangerous path to heaven, the tower of the universe and the homilies describing the death-bed, the mouth of hell, speech of the soul to its body, description of the soul, the robe of sin. From all this it appears that hosts of beauteous angels and hideous demons attend the exits of good and evil souls respectively. The demons carry arms to smite the souls they take.

Social relationships in the light of Christianity. (The Hulsean lectures for 1909-1910.) By W. EDWARD CHADWICK. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910. 344 p.

These Hulsean lectures plead for the supremacy of the ethical in conduct and especially in social intercourse and relationships. That means it is a plea for the supreme call of Christianity. Present conditions are unfavorable. So the author discusses what the Old and then the New Testament can contribute, possibilities of reform, etc.

The coming triumph of Christian civilization, by J. W. PETAVEL. London: George Allen & Co., Ltd., 1911. 216 p.

This author does not suggest the best single plan but describes the best plans and this is wisdom on the part of social reformers. His suggestion for an ordinary capitalistic organization of production-for-use is certainly new in this field. The author is a Christian socialist, but his Christianity rather obscures his socialism throughout, beginning with the fact that his chapter heads are Bible passages and ending with an enthusiasm that seems to the writer to make him somewhat uncritical and indiscriminating in some respects.

Light from the ancient east; the New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Graeco-Roman world, by ADOLF DEISSMANN. Translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan. New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911. 514 p.

Professor Deissmann, professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Berlin, made two trips to Palestine and adjacent lands, these

excursions subsidized by the Prussian Minister of Education. These trips were taken in order to see the world in which Jesus lived, sympathetically, if possible with His eyes, and especially to collect new texts and other data. These are particularly of stone, metal, etc., texts on papyrus and potsherds. He has found many of these and has been able with their aid to shed considerable new light upon the language of the New Testament as illustrated in these new texts, its literature, social and religious history, future work, Jesus' prayers for vengeance, the second logia, etc., all of which have been affected by these new discoveries.

Folk-song and folk-poetry as found in the secular songs of the Southern Negroes; a study in folk-thought and folk-ways. By HOWARD W. ODUM. (Reprinted from the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, July-September-October-December, 1911. 84 p.)

This is a remarkable collection of 115 different types of song of the American Negro most of which the author himself has collected at first-hand. It is the product of years of study in this general field.

A glossary of important symbols in their Hebrew, Pagan and Christian forms. Compiled by ADELAIDE S. HALL. Boston: Bates and Guild Company, 1912. 103 p.

This is an interesting contribution to a new phase of mythic and folk psychology. The book consists really of a list of classified symbols grouped under trees, light, colors, numbers, animals, fishes, birds, insects, serpents, fabulous creatures, angelic personages, halo and the crown, cross, demon, satyrs and nymphs, geometrical themes, architectural forms, military emblems, gems and fruits, plants and blossoms, unclassified symbols and objects.

Spirits of the corn and of the wild, by J. G. FRAZER. London: Macmillan & Company, Ltd., 1912. 2 vols. (Part 5 of *The golden bough, a study in magic and religion*.)

This will be a welcome addition to the classic work which the author has previously contributed to this subject. Only a detailed review can do adequate justice to the very elaborate and erudite scholarship of the author, who has as in previous studies drawn from all sources and who convinces, if he convinces, not by argumentation, but by a masterly marshalling of a vast array of facts.

The historicity of Jesus, by SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912. 352 p.

The author first discusses the general question which Drews has made prominent, whether Jesus is a historical individual or a creation of the human mind, estimating the positive and negative evidence and treating the pragmatic bases of primitive tradition, the Pauline Gospel and extra-biblical evidence and Jesus' significance for modern Christianity.

An essay on Hinduism, its formation and future. By SHRIDHAR V. RETKAR. London: Luzac & Co., 1911. 177 p. (Second volume of *History of Caste in India*.)

This work sets out to tell us what is the relation between the caste system and the Hindu religion. The author then proceeds to present the essential features of what religion really means, describing the Hindu terminology, its social theory, internal ties, membership, modern social conditions, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, theories of social evolution and the future of Hinduism, of which the writer takes a very sanguine view.

Der Mythos von der Sintflut, von GEORG GERLAND. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1912. 124 p.

The author finds that in the majority of primitive races there have been very ancient and pervasive theories of a deluge, but that this is not found in all of them. This leads him to the conclusion that there must have been some great fact of cosmic dimensions that caused this tradition and he even asks what it was, but gives no very definite answer. He says it must have been something celestial, perhaps a very ancient density and darkness of cloud and a downfall of rain beyond all precedent or example. The main contribution of the author is the suggestion that there must have been some event rather than telling us what it was.

The evidence for the supernatural, by IVOR L. TUCKETT. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1911. 399 p.

The author discusses what is truth, the value of evidence, occultism, psychic force, telepathy, prayer, miracles, the soul, and concludes that rational altruism is the gospel of common sense.

Cui bono? or "What Shall It Profit?" A gentle philosophy for those who doubt. By HARWOOD HUNTINGTON, A. B., Ph. D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1912. Pp. xiv, 145.

The author of this little book is a Ph. D. of Columbia, who, after being a lawyer, was ordained in the Episcopal Church. The six brief chapters treat these topics: What is the world for? Difficulties, Christianity the civilizer, Evolution of soul, Man ensouled, Christianity transcendent. The endeavor is to teach in common parlance the Christian religion, to "restate some of the eternal verities which condition peace,—soul-peace." We can perhaps forgive Dr. Huntington his orthodoxy for his optimism; his belief in the Trinity for his really Christian attitude toward the Chinese. This book is not for those who can "doubt and be undismayed," but for the lesser doubters, who may find it pleasant and satisfying reading.

A. F. C.

The Science of Human Nature. By JAMES F. BOYDSTUN. Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1912. Pp. 286. Price \$2 net.

The author does not intend this book as "a continuous treatise," and advises the reader to follow his own interests in perusing it. Many

paragraphs, he admits, "are little more than suggestions." The following topics are considered: The meaning of life, the meaning of mind, the basis of mind, ideas—feelings—action, states of consciousness, habit—auto-suggestion, growth of ideas—instinct, the social instinct and imitation, conscious life—formation of our theories—apperception, pleasure and pain—the place of experience, heredity—the basis of individualism, the elements of character, the self, will—the assertion of individuality, freedom and responsibility, religion, childhood and youth, sex in intellect, education. The author refers to such books as Thorndike's *Notes on Child-Study*, Münsterberg's *On the Witness-Stand*, Ross's *Social Psychology*, Royce's *Outlines of Psychology*, Judd's *Psychology*, and, particularly, James's *Psychology* and Swift's *Mind in the Making*. The title is rather too ambitious for the contents, and not infrequently Mr. Boydstun is too dogmatic (e. g., on page 49, where he states that "there is but one cure for a subnormal condition of life, or a disease,—rest"), or misinterprets the facts of history and ethnology, as he does in the chapter on "Sex in Intellect." One can sympathize with the author's protest against "steeping the souls of our children in sterilizing intellectuality," and not be sure but that his project for "standardizing the entire work and methods of our schools," on a "scientific" basis, may in the end prove as ruinous as the experiments of the past. Fortunately, however, human nature is still strong enough, and wise enough, to prevent such treatment of us all. Even the "scientific schoolmaster" must bow to the humanly-human.

A. F. C.

The Kallikak Family. A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness. By HENRY HERBERT GODDARD, PH. D., Director of the Research Laboratory of the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey, for Feeble-Minded Girls and Boys. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. xv, 121. Illustrated. Price \$1.50 net.

This book should justify the faith of Mr. S. S. Fels, the philanthropist, to whom it is dedicated in consideration of his munificent support of the excellent work being done at Vineland. It is, as Dr. Goddard notes, "a genuine story of real people," and *The Kallikak Family* will take its place beside Dugdale's story of the Jukes and Winship's account of the descendants of Jonathan Edwards, or, rather, above them, for Dr. Goddard's study of the posterity of the pseudonymous Martin Kallikak is a more sympathetically conceived and more scientifically executed human document than either of these, its predecessors. Of the labor involved in accumulating the information embodied in the numerous charts occupying pages 36-49 we get some glimpses from the chapter on data (pp. 13-30).

The Kallikak Family is a very welcome contribution to the literature of human heredity, since, in the words of the author (p. 50):

"We have two series from two different mothers, but the same father. These extend for six generations. Both lines live out their lives in practically the same region and in the same environment, except in so far as they themselves, because of their different characters, changed that environment. Indeed, so close are they that, in one case, a defective man, on the bad side of the family, was found in the employ of a family on

the normal side, and, although they are of the same name, neither suspects any relationship."

To begin with, the Kallikaks were "a family of good English blood of the middle class, settling upon the original land purchased from the proprietors of the State in Colonial times, and throughout four generations maintaining a reputation for honor and respectability of which they are justly proud." Then, after four good generations, "a scion of this family, in an unguarded moment, steps aside from the paths of rectitude and with the help of a feeble-minded girl starts a line of mental defectives that is truly appalling" (p. 50). But this is not all, for, "after this mistake, he returns to the traditions of his family, marries a woman of his own quality, and through her carries on a line of respectability equal to that of his ancestors." Martin Kallikak, Jr., the illegitimate son of Martin Kallikak, has had 483 descendants, of who but 46 have been found normal; 143 were or are feeble-minded, while of the rest nothing certain is known. The great-great-granddaughter of Martin Kallikak, Jr. is Deborah Kallikak, a feeble-minded young woman of 22 years, the interesting story of whose life for the last 14 years at the Vineland Training School is summarized in the first chapter of the book. It is indeed, a "ghastly story," as Dr. Goddard terms it, this tale, given in brief on pages 17-30, of "the descendants of Martin Kallikak, Sr., from the nameless feeble-minded girl," and "although Martin himself paid no further attention to the girl or her child, society has had to pay the heavy price of all the evil he engendered" (p. 29).

The 480 descendants of Martin Kallikak, Jr. include 36 illegitimate children, 33 sexually immoral persons (mostly prostitutes), 24 confirmed alcoholics, 3 epileptics, 82 children dying in infancy, 3 criminals, 8 keepers of houses of ill-fame. Of the 496 in direct descent from Martin Kallikak, Sr., by his legitimate and normal wife, "all are normal people; 3 men only have been found among them who were somewhat degenerate, but they were not defective,—two of these were alcoholic, and the other sexually loose." Moreover: "All of the legitimate children of Martin, Sr. married into the best families in their State, the descendants of colonial governors, signers of the Declaration of Independence, soldiers, and even founders of a great university. Indeed, in this family and its collateral branches, we find nothing but good representative citizenship. There are doctors, lawyers, judges, educators, traders, landholders, in short, respectable citizens, men and women prominent in every phase of social life. They have scattered over the United States and are prominent in their communities wherever they have gone. Half a dozen towns in New Jersey are named from the families into which Martin's descendants have married." The tale of the good and the bad is told,—now what can be done? According to Dr. Goddard, the menace to society is not the helpless *idiot* incapable of begetting seed after his kind, but the *moron*, "such people as make up a large proportion of the bad side of the Kallikak family." As the author points out (p. 102), "the career of Martin Kallikak, Sr. is a powerful sermon against sowing wild oats." But even if he had remained in the path of virtue, she might have met some other

betrayers. The two great difficulties facing society are first to discover the feeble-minded, then to take care of them,—and those who need such care are said to be nine-tenths uncared for now. Dr. Goddard is of opinion that “segregation and colonization is not by any means as hopeless a plan as it may seem to those who look only at the immediate increase in the tax-rate.” As sexualization and sterilization can hardly be the best and final solution of the problem,—they are really but make-shifts, helps only where conditions have become intolerable. To practice them extensively we must know a great deal more about “the effects of the operation and about the laws of human inheritance.” Dr. Goddard believes that “feeble-mindedness is hereditary and transmitted as surely as any other character” (p. 117), and “in considering the question of care, segregation through colonization seems in the present state of our knowledge to be the ideal and perfectly satisfactory method.” A. F. C.

Education. The Old and the New. School Management. The Experience of Half a Century. By WILLIAM P. HASTINGS. Published by the author. Battle Creek, Mich., 1912. Pp. 299. Price \$1.

The author of this volume intended to promote the interests of the elementary and secondary schools, is 79 years old and “not injured by school work,—reason, the use of systematic physical culture, work on the farm,” and dedicates it “To my Posterity, To my Country and To my God.” The thirty brief chapters touch on all sorts of educational topics, from Apperception to Playgrounds. Some of the writer’s pedagogical experiences are of interest and value, but his consideration of many questions seems woefully defective. On one of the few pages devoted to “genetic psychology” occurs this statement (p. 49): “Outside of the psychological teachings of Doctors Harris, James, McMurray, De Garmo, and Herbert Spencer, we find little of practical value to the young teacher.” Mr. Hastings points out many ways in which the newer education of to-day has improved upon the old and expresses quite freely his opinions as to various text-books in use in the schools and by teachers for their own improvement. Among the things the author would carry over from the old into the new is corporal punishment, salved by the condition “under carefully guarded restrictions.” A. F. C.

The Original Garden of Eden Discovered and the Final Solution of the Mystery of the Woman, the Tree and the Serpent, being the Lunar Theory of Mythology and the Analysis and Satisfactory Explanation of the Ancient Mystical Lore. By J. M. WOOLSEY. New York: Cochrane Publishing Co., 1910. Pp. 512.

The Discovery of Noah’s Ark. Final and Decisive. New York: Cochrane Publishing Co., 1910. Pp. 62.

These two books represent comparative mythology run mad over the whole world past and present. Sunset-lore, hell and the bottomless pit, the throne of God, the house of the Volsungs, the jawbone of Samson’s ass, the name of Adam, the world-tree, the book of Thoth, the sword of Wainamoinen, the symbol of the serpent, the Garden of Eden, the woman

of a thousand names, the ocean-source of all things, the tragedy of the year, sin, the skin-covering, the leg of the flood, the sacred numbers (3 and 7), the ship *Argo*, the Druidical ark, etc., are all discoursed about with an amazing indifference to scientific principles of mythological interpretation. The author is possessed by a veritable *delirium lunaticum*,—he sees the moon in everything. After stating that “the explanation of mythology is not much further advanced to-day than it was two thousand years ago under the Greek philosophy” (p. 16), he is bold enough to declare “the new moon, the throne of all the gods, and the key of all mythology.” For him, the Garden of Eden was originally “the little white island of the new moon; arisen from the moon waters” (p. 286) and Noah’s Ark “the crescent moon sailing on the blue sea of the sky” (*Noah’s Ark*, p. 6). No such mass of garnerings from folk-lore was necessary to set forth an idea so old and so childlike,—as multi-phased as Selene herself.

A. F. C.

Die Philosophie der Gegenwart. Eine internationale Jahresübersicht herausgegeben von DR. ARNOLD RUGE. II. *Literatur* 1910. Heidelberg: Weiss’sche Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1912. Pp. x, 306.

The scheme of this useful annual bibliographical review of modern philosophy covers the following topics: Periodicals, collected works, dictionaries, bibliographies, etc.; texts and translations, critical works; history of philosophy; general philosophy; logic and theory of knowledge; moral, ethical, legal and social philosophy; philosophy of culture-phenomena, philosophy of history, philosophy of language; nature-philosophy; philosophy of religion; philosophy of art; psychology; popular works, aphorisms, etc. “Religious psychology” as such appears with “social psychology” as a section (pp. 279-280), including but 16 titles in all, not an exhaustive list surely in a total enumeration of 3,030 books, monographs and articles. The comprehensive alphabetical index of authors occupies pages 290-306, three columns to the page. The policy of the editor seems not to have taken account of anthropological and ethnological periodicals, although citing such publications as, e.g., the *Proceedings of the American Academy*, the *Atti della R. Accademia di Roma*, etc. This leads to the omission of many interesting and valuable articles falling quite within the field of review. Thus, taking the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* and the *American Anthropologist* alone for the year 1910, the valuable studies of Goldenweiser on “Totemism” and Kroeber on “The Morals of Uncivilized Peoples” would have been recorded.

A. F. C.

Romans à lire et romans à proscrire. Essai de classification au point de vue moral des principaux romans et romanciers de notre époque (1800-1911) avec notes et indications pratiques. Par l’abbé LOUIS BETHLEEM, Curé à Sin-le-Noble (Nord). Cinquième édition. Sin-le-Noble: Bureaux de Romans-Revue; Cambrai: Librairie Oscar Masson, 1912. Pp. xxxii, 415.

This *vade-mecum* for good Catholics through the novel literature of the last century has the approval of the higher clergy and a good word from

the Supreme Pontiff at Rome through Cardinal Merry del Val. The six sections of the work treat of the following: Works to be proscribed by reason of the decrees of the *Index*; works to be proscribed by virtue of Christian morals; works of a worldly sort, of which some may be kept in the library of sensible people and may be read by persons of ripe age and judgment; tales, novels, etc., that can be read by youths and young women properly brought up; novels of adolescence, or tales, novels, etc., which can generally be put into everybody's hands; children's novels, or amusing tales for young people of both sexes and for children. The works of more than 1,200 authors are considered, ranging from Edmond About to the Baroness Helen Zuylen de Nyevelt, and covering almost every country in Europe,—in translation chiefly, of course. Among American authors treated of are: Mark Twain, Fenimore Cooper, Marion Crawford, Bret Harte, Washington Irving, Longfellow, Poe, Roosevelt, etc. Of ex-President Roosevelt's records of ranching and hunting experiences, etc., it is rather well said (p. 280), that, although good reading, "he praises the struggle for life, energy, the right of the strong, to the detriment, sometimes, of human solidarity." Longfellow's *Evangeline* is, naturally enough, commended. Of Fenimore Cooper, the Mame, Ardant and Téqui adaptations are approved, as having been "rid of all the insipid details so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon novels" (p. 315). Of Poe's *Tales* it is said (p. 349) "they are unobjectionable from a moral point of view," but not to be commended to nervous people and persons who might be injured by the excitement produced by both situations and language employed. Captain Mayne Reid's works are commended for everybody. Of the novels of Lord Beaconsfield *Lothair* and *Sybil* "can be found in Catholic libraries," although his works are simply "dixmilles du high-life." H. G. Wells receives considerable attention (pp. 285-286), some of his novels not being (*e. g.* *Miss Waters*) for "jeunes filles." If people want to read Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the Barbou or Ardant *remaniement* is recommended (p. 304). Some of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's writings are hardly approved (p. 226). George Eliot (p. 253) is not placed under such a ban as might be supposed. *Treasure Island* and some other works of R. L. Stevenson "may be read by almost everybody" (p. 218). Concerning Rudyard Kipling, it is stated that his fancies and pretensions are very little en rapport with French taste (p. 189). His praise of "the brutality of English imperialism" and his "jingo morals" are disapproved. *Stalky and Co.*, however, "may be read by everyone." Of Ouida some works may be read by persons of right age, and a few even by young people (p. 104), but others are condemned for rationalistic and anti-catholic ideas. The writings of Selma Lagerlof, winner of the Nobel prize are not commended to young people (p. 191). Hans Andersen receives general approval (p. 299) as do the Brothers Grimm (p. 372). Maurice Maeterlynck is condemned for his false mysticism, etc. (p. 198), and also from a moral point of view. For the same and for other reasons, much of Tolstoi is placed under the ban, but "subversive doctrines and other immoralities less dangerous do

not prevent *War and Peace*, *Anna Karénina* and *Resurrection* from being masterpieces of art and literature" (p. 118). A number of his works may be read without danger. Listed as banned by the *Index* are most of Balzac, both Dumas, George Sand, Eugène Sue, Stendhal, and all of Zola. Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Les Misérables* are also under the ban, and Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* was condemned in 1819. As contrary to Christian morals are condemned, among very many others Camille Flammarion, a good deal of Bret Harte, Pierre Loti, etc. Naturally, a very large part of the censures here recorded are dealt out to those French authors of the present generation who have taken an anti-religious or anti-Catholic attitude. In some respects one is favorably impressed with certain of the judgments passed, which have not always been dictated by mere theological bias.

A. F. C.

Constab Ballads. By CLAUDE MCKAY. London: Watts & Co., 1912. Pp. 94.

This little book by a Jamaican Negro and ex-policeman, whose previous volume, *Songs of Jamaica*, has already been noted in these pages (vol. 5, p. 453), consists of a selection from the poems written by the author while chafing under the irksome discipline and to him unsuitable life in the constabulary,—into them he "poured his heart in its various moods." Pages 81-94 are occupied by a glossary of peculiar words and expressions. Among the more interesting poems are "The Heart of a Constab," "Last Words of the Dying Recruit," "Bumming," "Cotch Donkey," "The Whoppin' Big-Tree Boy," "Sukee River." Of the curious words and expressions used by the author, the following may be cited here: *Ball-pan man*, vendor of patties; *bull-dog boots*, rope-soled slippers; *cotch donkey*, a donkey that stands or lies still and refuses to move; *mac* (short for *macaroni*), shilling; *pupperlicks*, head over heels, turning somersaults; *Syrian-boy*, negro working for a Syrian peddler; *yerry-jerries*, minnow. The only undoubtedly African words used seem to be: *bongo*, "black African," and *nyam*, "to eat." There are quite a number of really artistic touches in some of the poems, as, *e. g.*,

- (a) Where de twilight's fallin' shadows
Scattered at de moon's command (p. 18).
- (b) Hea' de John-t'-whits [red-eyed greenlets] in a glee
Singin' in de mamme tree!
Listen, comin' up de dale
Chirpin's o' de nightingale! (p. 30).
- (c) Mumma!—a whe' mumma deh?
Mumma!—mumma gone away?
Gone, oh gone is eberyting,
But de funny fancies cling (p. 32).
- (d) Oh! a labourer's life's my desire
In de hot sun an' pure season rains,
When de glow o' de dark-red bush fire
Sends a new blood a-flow'n' t'rough me veins (p. 72).
- (e) Lush bananas coated blue (p. 33).

The naively religious crops out here and there, as in the following (p. 58), from "The Apple-Woman's Complaint:"

Ah massa Jesus! in you' love
Jes' look do'n from you' t'rone above,
An' show me how a poo' weak gal
Can lib good life in dis ya wul'.

The poem, "Sukee River" describes the joys of swimming with child-like ecstasy.

A. F. C.

English Witchcraft and James the First. By GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 65.

In this monograph reprinted from *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*, Professor Kittredge discusses in detail the alleged sinister record of King James the First in the history of English witchcraft. As the author notes in beginning:

"Common fame makes James I a sinister figure in the history of English witchcraft. The delusion, we are told, was dying out in the later years of Elizabeth, but James fanned the cinders into a devouring flame. His coming was the signal for a violent and long-continued outburst of witch-hunting, for which he was personally responsible. He procured the repeal of the comparatively mild Elizabethan law and the enactment of a very cruel statute. He encouraged and patronized witchfinders, and was always eager for fresh victims. His reign is a dark and bloody period in the annals of this frightful superstition."

Professor Kittredge points out that "James's ascension was not the signal for an outbreak of witch prosecution, for he had been on the throne for nine years before any such outbreak occurred," and that "the statute of 1604 was not appreciably more severe, in its practical working in 1612, than the Elizabethan statute would have been at the same time if it had continued in force. Moreover, "the importance of King James's *Daemonologie* has been greatly exaggerated, both as to its bearing on his supposed career as a prosecutor and as to its effect on English sentiment in his time." As the author remarks further: "The book is a confession of faith, not an autobiography. It is proof of what James *thought*, not of what he *did*."

In Scotland it never caused the death of a witch, and in England it had no appreciable affect upon the feeling of the time. There is not only no proof that James I was a witch-hunter as king of England, but there is conclusive evidence in the opposite direction,—pardons, toleration of Dee and Lambe and Forman, several letters of the king himself, his detection of several cases of fraudulent bewitchment, his good influence on the judges in certain trials, etc. It appears that the executions for witchcraft throughout England, during the reign of James I, so far as now known, numbered less than 40, i. e., an average of about two a year, figures that are small in comparison with the executions for felonies other than witchcraft, which in the County of Middlesex alone in 10 years (6-15 James I) averaged 70 annually. Professor Kittredge seems

fully justified in his conclusion that so far as executions for witchcraft were concerned, "the reign of James I was not a dark and bloody period." Nor was the king, himself, the brutal witchfinder he has been thought to be. In a briefer paper, "King James I and *The Devil is an Ass*," published in *Modern Philology* (vol. 9, 1911, pp. 195-209) Professor Kittredge produces evidence to show that Ben Jonson's satirical comedy, *The Devil is an Ass*, in which occurs a case of sham demoniacal possession, etc., the connection of which with the structure of the drama is very loose, really must have pleased the king rather than have offended him. For, the dramatist had "inserted a scene of sham demoniacal possession, and pointed the compliment by satirizing the justice, whose credulity the king had reproved." In *Volpone*, too, there is a counterfeit demoniac. That the play was not printed until after the king's death, may have been due to the king's desire to please others. He did not censure or punish Jonson.

A. F. C.

The Interpretation of Religious Experience. The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow in the years 1910-1912, by JOHN WATSON, LL.D., Professor Moral Philosophy in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. *Part First, Historical; Part Second, Constructive.* Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons (N. Y., The Macmillan Co.), 1912. 2 vols. Pp. xiv, 375; x, 342. Price \$6 net.

The ten lectures in Vol. I treat of the following topics: Development of Greek religion and theology; Primitive Christianity and its exponents; From Origen to Thomas Aquinas; Dante's theology and politics; Eckhart, Descartes and Spinoza; Leibnitz, Locke and the English deists; Berkeley and Hume; The critical philosophy; Hegel's relation to Kant; Hegel's Philosophy of Religion. In Vol. II are included these thirteen lectures: Faith, knowledge and mythology; The fallacy of radical empiricism; The realistic view of the world; The perceptive stage of knowledge; The scientific view of the world; The religious consciousness and deism; Naturalism and evolution; Creation, evolution and the distinction of body and mind; Personal and absolute idealism; Hypothetical theism, absolutism and mysticism; The problem of evil; Evil and its atonement; The invisible church and immortality.

In the first series of lectures Professor Watson makes an inquiry into the development of Christianity, devoting particular attention to "the systematic formulation of religious experience in theology, and especially to the influence of philosophy in determining the form that theology has successively assumed;" in the second series, of a constructive nature, he "endeavors to give such an interpretation of religious ideas as may seem to be required by the greater complexity and comprehensiveness of modern thought" (I, p. 1). For Professor Watson the first element in religion is *belief*, the second, *worship*, the third, *ritual*, for "religion implies not only a belief in powers that are able and willing to help man, but some form of worship through which his reverence is expressed," and, in the lowest as well as in the highest religion, there is involved also "a conformation of the life to what is believed to be the will of the divine being." In other words, "religion is a life, as well as a

creed and a ritual" (I, p. 4). This view accepts the connection of religion and morality, a position strenuously denied by certain modern thinkers, but, as the author observes, "the facts seem to show that religion in all its forms inevitably carries with it an influence upon the whole conduct of those who believe in it."

Of the three elements of religion, belief "presents a double aspect,"—the faith and its systematic form. Although "a systematic theology is not the indispensable condition of religion, it by no means follows that there can be a religion which excludes all definite ideas." The origin of religion is not to be sought in fear," but always in a lower or higher degree of reverence." Says the author on this point (p. 3):

"No doubt primitive man fears certain spirits; but his dread of these is not religious; on the contrary, it excludes religion. For the spirits that he dreads are those which are beyond the circle of humanity, whereas the spirits that he reverences are those with which he enters into sympathetic and friendly relations. It is true that a more developed form of religion may contain an element of fear as well as of reverence, but this is due to the inclusion within the objects of worship of spirits that had formerly been regarded as unfriendly 'demons,' and had not yet been entirely transformed into 'god.'" Of animism, he says that it is "a very early form of belief," but that "it is a mistake to say that the belief in spirits is a form of religion." This idea he amplifies as follows: "For there is a belief in spirits that does not call forth any religious emotion, but is rather a source of fear and repulsion; and such a belief is manifestly independent of religion. The belief in a higher power, in fact, is simply a very early form of theology,—if we may apply so august a title to so undeveloped a form of consciousness,—and may therefore be held independently of religion. But, though it is thus capable of separation from religion, animism at the stage when it arises is the *sine qua non* of religion. What is required to transform this belief into a religion is that the spirits believed to exist should bear a special relation to those who have faith in them" (I, p. 3). But not any relation whatever to the individual, affecting his life, is religion. According to the author: "A religion without belief in the divine is a superstition; a religion that has no influence upon conduct is a contradiction in terms; a religion that substitutes external ceremonial acts for the higher life is an empty formalism."

In the religion of ancient Greece, Professor Watson thinks "there was implied a higher principle than Greek philosophy in its earlier form explicitly grasped," viz. that man had something in him akin to the divine,—this principle Socrates and the later great philosophers caught and set forth. "The genius of the Hebrew religion," he says quite frankly, "was shown in the living energy by which it transformed the crude material supplied to it in the Babylonian myths," and it was "the splendid idealism of St. Paul that freed Christianity from bondage to the customs and ideas peculiar to the Jewish people." The result of the first seven Christian centuries was "the formulation of the Trinitarian and Christological doctrines, and, in the West, the laying of the founda-

tion of the doctrines of Sin and Grace" (p. 65). The second stage of medieval theology began in the eleventh century, characterized by popular satisfaction in the rites and ceremonies of the Church, and also by "that application of humane reason in defence of the Church's teaching which we know as Scholasticism,"—an application begun by Anselm. The theology of Dante, according to Professor Watson, "is Christianity speaking in terms of Neo-Platonism and Aristotelianism." The great Italian poet had "the Germanic passion for political freedom," but he uttered it "in the language of imperial Rome." In other words, "the spirit of the coming age speaks through him, but it clothes itself in the forms and the language of the past" (p. 100). Dante's Catholicism is proved by the place of the Virgin in his theological creed. Upon Scholasticism followed Mysticism, then the Renaissance and the Reformation. After which Descartes, "the father of modern philosophy," with whom began the great scrutiny and thoroughgoing criticism of the foundations upon which a religious view of life is supposed to rest. The more modern philosophies are discussed at length in the second volume, their strengths and weakness pointed out,—from radical empiricism to Bergson's "creative evolution." Professor Watson's own position is this (II, p. 325):

"The conclusion, therefore, of our whole investigation is, that man as a spiritual or self-conscious being, is capable of experiencing God, who is the absolutely spiritual or self-conscious being, and that the influence of God upon man is not external or mechanical but spiritual, and, so far from being destructive of freedom, is the condition without which freedom is inconceivable." He admits that "one of the difficulties felt in adopting this idealistic interpretation of experience is, that it seems to be inconsistent with the growing experience of the race."

Of religion itself he says (II, p. 327, 328):

"Religion is the spirit which must more and more subdue all things to itself, informing science and art, and realizing itself in the higher organization of the family, the civic community, the state, and, ultimately, the world, and gradually filling the mind and heart of every individual with the love of God and the enthusiasm of humanity."

The aim of religion "is not simply the preservation of the social order, but the regeneration of the individual soul," and "it deals with the inner nature of man, not merely with the result of his act upon society." Thus God "cannot be properly concerned as a sovereign who lays down laws, the violation of which brings punishment, but only as a Being of infinite love." And "man can only be saved from sin by realizing in his life the self-communicating spirit of God" (II, p. 294),—hence "no amount of suffering can be bartered for forgiveness," and "not even God can forgive sin in the case of a man who has not repented of his sin and actively entered upon the path of goodness." Nor is it possible to "transfer goodness in any external way." There is no magical process of forgiving without change of heart. Faith "is identification with the principle of goodness," and the principle of faith "is the 'promise and potency' of the consummately holy life, a principal which must ultimately subdue to itself all the selfish desires which war against the ideal."

In the author's opinion (I, p. 301): "Nothing but a philosophical reconstruction of belief, which shall reconcile reason and religion, can lift us, in these days of unrest and unbelief, above the fatal division of the heart and the head; and even this reconciliation is only for a few. How the great body of the people is to find its way out of its present unhappy state of division can only be determined by the onward march of humanity." Those interested in this problem of philosophy and religion will find much of value in these lectures of Professor Watson. A. F. C.

Field Museum of Natural History. Publication 154. Anthropological Series. Vol. X. *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*. By BERTHOLD LAUFER. 68 plates, 6 of which are colored, and 204 Text-figures. The Mrs. T. B. Blackstone Expedition. Chicago: 1912. Pp. xiv, 370.

This well-printed and well-illustrated monograph, provided with a bibliography (pp. 355-360), additional to citations in the text, and with a good index (pp. 361-370, two columns to the page), is based upon the researches and collections of the author in Tibet and China, during the years 1908-1910,—the expedition having been liberally endowed by Mrs. T. B. Blackstone of Chicago. With few exceptions, all the specimens described and figured are now in the Field Museum, forming part of the Mrs. T. B. Blackstone Collection. Dr. Laufer, who is Associate Curator of Asiatic Ethnology in the Museum, is an expert authority on matters Tibetan and Chinese. The twelve sections of the book treat of the following topics: Jade and other stone implements, Jade symbols of sovereign power, astronomical instruments of jade, jade as writing material, jade in religious worship, the jade images of the cosmic deities, jade coins and seals, personal ornaments of jade (girdle-pendants, ornaments for head-gear and hair, clasps, buckles, sword-ornaments, court-girdles of T'ang dynasty), jade amulets of the dead, jade objects used in dressing the corpse, jade carvings of fishes, quadrupeds and human figures in the grave, vases of jade, jade in the eighteenth century. Appendix I (pp. 341-350) treats of "Buddhist Art," and Appendix II (pp. 351-354) of "The Nephrite Question in Japan." Dr. Laufer calls attention to the freedom with which modern Chinese archeologists "contradict the old, beloved school opinions" (p. 14), and expresses the opinion that, "for all serious future investigations into Chinese antiquities, it will be incumbent upon us to pay due attention to the works, opinions and results also of modern Chinese (as well as Japanese) archeologists; the time has gone when only the *Po ku t'u* and the very weak *Si ts'ing ku kien*, which is of small value, may be ransacked at random and haphazardly by the foreign inquirer." For researches into the ancient religious cult and practices of the Chinese, the principal sources are the *Chou li*, the *Li li*, and the *I li*, which "contain ample material on the ceremonial usage of jade." As in the case in other ancient and historic lands, the native chroniclers and commentators have by no means been infallible in China. On this point, the author remarks (p. 18):

"The errors in the interpretation of ancient customs and notions committed by Chinese commentators and editors, their failures in their

attempts at a reconstruction of the past, and their positive productions of newly formed ancient artistic designs, never existing in times of antiquity, are not logical blunders to be imputed to their intellectual frame, but emanations of their psychical constitution evolved from a new process of association. The problem moves on purely psychological, not on mental lines." In the Chou period the trend of thought "was symbolic, swayed by impressions and sentiments received from celestial cosmical aspects of the universe, and strove for expression in geometrical representations, so much so that the singular art of the Chou cannot be better characterized than by the two words symbolic and geometric, or as geometric symbolism; round raised dots or knobs were suggestive, on mere emotional grounds, of a heap of grain-seeds." The further treatment of this way of looking at things is thus described (p. 19):

"This mode of observation became foreign to subsequent generations, who, reflecting upon the peculiar traits of the Chou culture, could but realize that a real representation of grain, in the manner of a living plant, was intended. The Sung artists, with their inspirations for naturalistic designs, took possession of this notion and instilled it with life by sketching it on paper. Thus, they transformed a rational reflection, by mere intuition, into a permanent motive of art promulgated as the production of the Chou period." Again:

"We must grasp the nature-loving spirit of the impressionistic Sung artists to appreciate their very neat naturalistic designs of cereals and rushes on the Chou disks of jade. And we must understand, on the other hand, the complex organism of the world and life conception of the Chou period, which is quite a distinct and peculiar China in itself, to be prompted to the conclusion that the Chou design proposed by the intuition of the Sung artists cannot possibly have been an inheritance of the Chou. Then we realize how the gigantic power of the superman Ts'in Shih Huang-ti had broken the ritualistic culture of the Chou, how a few remains and ruins of it only were exhumed and aired again by the revival activity of the Han, a movement of great earnestness and deep honesty of intention. Thus, we gain a basis for a judgment of the thinking and doings of the Han and later commentators, on whose shoulders the art-historians, art-critics and compilers of art-catalogues of the Sung period stand."

In this way only can we get some reasonable notion of the development of Chinese ideas and Chinese art.

The jades used in the Chou period and also most of those of the Han dynasty "were quarried on the very soil of China proper, as we know from the accounts of the Chinese, and as we can still ascertain from the worked jade pieces of those periods which, in quality and color, are widely different from any produced in Turkestan and Burma" (p. 23). But, from about the Christian era "Turkestan became the chief source for the supply of jade to China, to which Yunnan and Burma were later added." Some jade from Bagdad seems also to have reached China. To-day, as in former times, the city of Si-ngan fu "is the distributing center for the unwrought pieces of jade arriving from Turkestan." Stone

implements of all sorts are by no means numerous represented in archeological investigations on Chinese soil, and the most weighty reason for this, according to Dr. Laufer (p. 18), is that "as far as the present state of our archeological knowledge and the literary records point out, the Chinese have never passed through an epoch which, for other culture-regions, has been designated as a stone age." The stone implements discovered in Ts'ing-chou fu "are much more likely to have been produced by a non-Chinese tribe than by the Chinese." As far as Chinese history can be traced, "we find the Chinese as a nation familiar and fully equipped with metals, copper or bronze, or copper and bronze, the beating and casting of which was perfectly understood." Moreover, "the jade implements of the Chou period are not only contemporaneous with the Chinese bronze age, but also from an epoch when the bronze age, after an existence of several millenniums, was soon nearing its end, and iron gradually began to make its way; *i. e.*, from an archeological standpoint, they are recent products." In no way, are they "the index of a stone-age."

According to Dr. Laufer, the stone-mattocks, concerning which there has been not a little discussion, "are to be attributed to a non-Chinese population, which lived there before the invasion of the Chinese, and was gradually absorbed by them, rather than to the Chinese themselves" (p. 49). They are due probably to the kinsmen of the *Man* tribes of the south with their hoe-culture, to which these implements properly belong. The "grooved stone axe," he thinks, may possibly have been borrowed from prehistoric America (p. 52). This spade-shaped implement was imitated by the Chinese in "a miniature bronze form adapted to the purpose of barter," and it occurs also "in the ceremonial dance-axes of bronze and jade,"—the Chinese seem to have "derived many of their pantomimic dances from their southern barbaric neighbors, the *Man*, and at the same time, probably, the paraphernalia belonging to them. In a foot-note Dr. Laufer adds (p. 79):

"And most probably all their ancient dances come from that source. The Chinese have never been a dancing nation, as is easily seen in modern China, where no man and no woman is given to dancing; but with the Tibetans, the *Man*, and all Southeast-Asiatic tribes, including the Malayan, dancing is popular and national." From the same region, also, "the Chinese derived the cross-bow, with many other items of culture, as, *e. g.*, the reed pipe, several kinds of dances and songs, the well-known bronze drums, etc."—the contributions of the *Lolo* to Chinese culture have not yet been made out, but must have been quite considerable. This factor in the development of what we now term "Chinese civilization" forms an interesting pendant to the northern (Mongolian-Siberian) factor, which made itself felt both at an early and a later period in Chinese history.

As "a living proof that art is still alive in China, if opportunities are offered," Dr. Laufer cites the jade-carved statue of the goddess Kuan-yin, seen by him in one of the temples on the sacred isle of P'u-t'o, ten years ago,—it was said to have been "recently executed in Canton at

a cost of 10,000 Mexican dollars through subscriptions raised by a pious community." Of the statue itself we read (p. 350):

"Almost life-size, she is represented gracefully reclining, resting her chin on her right palm, sleeping, in the posture of Buddha's Nirvāna. The body is dressed in gorgeous silk attire, and the head is painted in colors. The image is kept under a glass case, and I saw it shortly before sunset, when the last sunrays produced a marvelous effect on the snow-white transparent jade."

Dr. Laufer says further, "it is not only one of the most magnificent works of sculpture ever executed in China, but also the most lifelike piece of statuary I have ever seen."

This book should be valuable to the archeologist, the ethnologist, the historian of art and the student of ethnic religions.

A. F. C.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

By ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

1. *Ainu first-man.* As the predecessors of the Mongolian Japanese the Ainu of Yesso and Saghalin are of great ethnological and psychological interest. Under the title "Ainu Folk-Lore," Bronislas Pilsudski has recently published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (vol. 25, 1912, pp. 72-86) a number of myths and legends obtained from the Ainu of the island of Saghalin. The usual hero in the legendary lore of these Ainu, according to P., is Yairesupo, or "Self-brought-up-Man," a being, half god and half man, who seems to have been the first Ainu. Some of the Ainu, who have lived in Yezo call him also "the god Samaye,"—this name, P. thinks, is "derived from the Japanese *Sama*-, an honorific term." He is also known as *Samayekuru*. "Self-brought-up-Man" had a sister, who was said to be very beautiful; she married the Owl, who, in one of the stories, says of himself, "I am of one blood with mankind. I am only a little man-owl, but next of kin to man." In another story the otter is represented as having been given the *inau* by "Self-brought-up-man," whereupon, as he says, "I became a new being. I am living happily, and am now the guardian of Self-brought-up-Man." The sister of another character did better than the woman in the opera, and "went up to the moon and got married to the Man in the Moon." In the tale of "Seal Island," Self-brought-up-Man outwits the Evil God. The tale of "Samayekuru and his sister" (pp. 81-83) deals with the human side of this character, and tells how "the God of the Upper Heaven," taunting him with being only a man, set out to defeat him, but was himself overcome and disgraced.
2. *Antiquity of Aryan culture in Asia Minor.* Recent explorations in the region of Armenia, particularly those of Lehmann-Haupt, set forth in his *Materialien zur alten Geschichte Armeniens* (1907-1908), have made certain the antiquity of Aryan culture in Asia Minor. Winckler's studies of the tablets found at Boghaz Keu are more venturesome and tend to widen the horizon much further. In his brief article on "Les Harri et les Aryens," in *L'Anthropologie* (vol. 23, 1912, pp. 207-210), A. J. Reinach cites Winckler's rendering of the treaty (ca. 1360 B. C.) inscribed on the Boghaz Keu tablet, in which, among other deities are mentioned as gods of the Mitanni of Northern Mesopotamia (whose king at the time was not a Hittite but belonged to the Harri or Charri), Mi-it-ra, A'-rou-na, In-da-ra, and the Na-saat-ti-ia, all evidently Indo-Iranian deities. The term *Mârê-har-ri*, occurring frequently in this inscription, Winckler seeks to interpret as "lords of the Aryans." Evidence seems accumulating, according to Reinach,

that "Armenia was the region of Asia Minor, where we find the Aryans established, when, about 1600 B. C., they enter the light of history." The facts elucidated by Winckler show that, from the fifteenth century, the Armenian region was occupied by the advance-guard of the Aryans, whose feudal aristocracy imposed itself on the Mitanni and penetrated, by way of Mesopotomia, as far as Syria.

- 3-4. *Balkan civilization.* In general, the civilized Christian world assumes the superiority of the Balkan peoples of Aryan stock over the Turks, in almost every respect without even admitting the possibility of a doubt in the matter. But the question is a good deal less one-sided than many people believe. In an article, "Le Monténégro en rumeur," in the *Mercure de France* (vol. 100, 1912, pp. 5-32), Marcel Mirtil treats in an interesting way of "the cousins of the Italians," as the Montenegrins are proud to call themselves. A Serb of Cattaro said to the author, "I would rather live under the Austrians,"—the *régime* at Cettigné pleased him so little. The position of woman in Montenegro is low indeed—the touch of weapons and the preparation for war keep men from fatiguing their hands with other labors,—it is the women who are the cultivators and the beasts of burden. A Montegrin would be ridiculed, if he did what even the French peasants do, appeared on the street arm in arm with his wife. As the author remarks (p. 29): "These Christians of the Western Balkans, who denounce the Turks for a complete inability to adopt the methods of European civilization, are themselves very close to them in certain manners and customs." The Bulgarians, too, have not lost all their Mongolism, and are in some things quite as Oriental also as the Turks; they are not yet completely Slavonicized,—their language and some other things are European, but not a little still smacks of Asia. Another article worth reading is that of the Rev. D. Ernesto Cozzi, of Rjoli, Albania, on "La donna Albanese con speciale riguardo al diritto consuetudinario delle Montagne di Scutari," the first part of which appears in *Anthropos* (vol. 7, pp. 309-335) for May-June, 1912. In the Scutari mountains the Mohammedan has remained "Albanian" in customs and habits, and "the condition of the Mohammedan woman there is equal to that of woman among the Christian mountaineers." Neither has Moslem religion shattered the old traditions of the people, nor has urban civilization yet obtained in the mountains a foothold for its corruptive influences. The Mohammedan Albanians were originally orthodox Catholics. Filial and fraternal courtesies abound in Albania but real *galanteria* toward the "weaker sex" is absent. Absolute separation of the sexes in church, in social gatherings, at weddings and other festive occasions is the rule,—everywhere the men take precedence of the women. A curious custom, among both Catholic and Mohammedan Albanians, permits a young woman to escape an undesirable marriage by taking a vow of perpetual virginity,—this can be done even after betrothal. These vows of virginity may also be taken of free-will without regard

to proposed marriages. One interesting reason for such action is that in Albania, women are incapable of inheriting any property, but customary law counts "two girls = one boy," and if two girls left orphans should take upon themselves the vows of virginity, they would enjoy during the rest of their lives the income from the paternal estate. Filial love also leads some young women to remain unmarried. It sometimes happens that women who have taken the vow of virginity assume male attire, bear arms, etc., although such cases seem to be infrequent. As wife and as mother the Albanian woman has considerable liberty, even if as a girl she has no freedom in choice of a husband. The statement of certain writers that the chief cause of vendettas in Albania is the infidelity of married women is branded by the author as "absolutely false." Divorce, in the western sense of the term, is unknown. Repudiation of the wife by the husband and flight of the latter occur,—the flight of the woman being the more frequent happening.

5. *Blacksmith in primitive thought.* In his article, "Der Schmied und seine Kunst im animistischen Denken," in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (vol. 44, 1912, pp. 81-93), B. Gutmann treats of the blacksmith's art among the Wadjagga of East Africa and its influence upon their animistic, mythological and religious ideas. The ruder side of the art was brought to the Wadjagga directly by members of the smith-caste of the Masai, who settled among them; the finer side, such as the forging of ornamental chains, etc., was learned by the Wadjagga from the Wakamba. Among the Masai, the occupation of blacksmith belongs to a subjected and despised caste; not so among the Wadjagga, where his position is an exalted one, for he is held in a certain awe and reverence. His manufacture of deadly weapons, his ability to bind together iron and iron, and the magic properties of his implements, particularly the bellows, and, above all, the hammer, contribute to this exaltation of the smith. The "peace of the hammer," ceremonially conferred, is a great defence against harm of all kinds, which the smith imparts also to his wife. The hammer that has become useless must never be used to be forged into tools for any one but the smith, nor ever sold for such purposes. The smith can curse by striking together two hammers, just as the chief can by pot-swinging or bell-ringing, and such a curse is even more feared. No one dares steal the smith's tools, though left carelessly about. Fragments of his broken tools serve as amulets. In the process of forging weapons, implements, etc., the smith has often occasion, if he be so minded, to take advantage of the wonder and credulity of the people, to his own selfish interest, it may be, sometimes. A smith named Mbuwa Malisa from Moshi boasted of his ability as a witch-finder and witchcraft-breaker; another pretended to be able to lick red-hot iron. There are some taboos in connection with the smith and his family. A man will not readily give his daughter in marriage to a smith, nor will a man readily marry the

daughter of a smith. In the first case, divorce is difficult for the women, according to folk-belief; and, in the second, an early death for the husband is likely. No one will bleed a smith for medical purposes, so great is the awe of his blood. Marriages between the family of the chief and that of the smith are forbidden in Moshi. In the western Kilimandjaro districts smiths are not allowed to accompany the army in war-time, perhaps on account of the great loss that would occur if the weapon-maker were slain; but also on account of a belief that the maker of deadly weapons is hated by God,—this prohibition does not hold in the central mountain regions of Moshi, nor in the eastern. Smiths are not permitted to dwell on the edge of the steppe, the belief being that they would become sick there. In this part of Africa iron has great significance as amulet and “medicine.” Iron rings are worn as necklaces, anklets, bracelets, etc.,—they promote fertility in women, cure sick children, and help infants in all sorts of ways. These *mimu* rings are highly esteemed in western regions of the mountains. Iron arrows are used to let blood from a goat or cow to be used as drink for a woman in child-bed, etc. When blood-friendship is contracted, neither of the parties concerned must have a bit of iron on him. Among the Wadjagga the metals are named from the colors attributed to them: Iron is *menja ja mringa*, “metal that looks like water;” brass, *menja ja arera*, “metal like morning-light;” copper, *menja ja modo*, “metal like fire,” etc. The Wadjagga name for the stone used as anvil, *iholja ngina*, “sky stone,” does not mean, as might be supposed, “stone fallen from the sky,” but “sky-colored stone.”

6. *Blue color and religious ideas.* In his article on “The Aboriginal Use of Turquoise in North America,” published in the *American Anthropologist* (vol. 14, N. S., pp. 437-466) for July-September, 1912, Joseph E. Pogue expresses the opinion that “the color of the turquoise, ranging from the blue of the sky to the green of water and plants, seems to make a strong psychological appeal to uncivilized peoples, peculiarly fitting their religious ideas and constantly suggesting a symbolical application” (p. 465). Among the Navaho a fine blue stone occasionally seen, is particularly valued and certain ceremonial objects “are customarily painted blue with powdered turquoise.” In ancient Mexico wooden masks and ornaments were inlaid with turquoise. The author has in preparation a monograph on the history, ethnology, mythology, folk-lore, etc., of turquoise.
7. *Broom superstitions.* In the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (vol. 11, 1912, pp. 215-218), Dr. Eugen Fehrle treats briefly of “Der Besen im Aberglauben,” a subject previously considered by J. von Negelein (*Ztschr. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, vol. 11, 1901) and E. Samter, in his book on *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig, 1911). Both ancient Greeks at their anthesteria-festival and the old Prussians after the

funeral meal "swept the spirits of the dead out of the house with a broom,"—they went out with dirt and the dust. The belief also arose that spirits took up their abode in the broom and rode on it like witches. Stepping over a broom was avoided by the Pythagoreans. But brooms were also held of good omen sometimes, for, in the southern Tirol, a bridal couple must first enter their new home by jumping over a broom. Cattle are protected by laying a broom on the door-step or in the stall. Disease-demons are driven away by a broom under the bed.

8. "*Couvade*." This curious custom, may be, as some authorities believe, a "myth" in the Basque country in Spain and France, but it still exists in full flourish in certain regions of South America, where all primitive customs have not disappeared. The latest explorer to verify its existence is W. Kissenberth, in his article, "Über die hauptsächlichsten Ergebnisse der Araguaya-Reise," in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (vol. 44, 1912, pp. 36-59. See p. 41), and his monograph, "Bei den Canella-Indianern in Zentral-Maranhao, Brasilien," in the *Baessler-Archiv* (vol. 2, 1912, Heft 1). Kissenberth visited in October, 1908, the half-civilized Canella Indians in their village between Barra de Corda and Morre Vermelho. Among these Indians every husband, after the accouchement of his wife, must take to bed (using the wooden frame-work employed for sleeping-purposes) and remain there, under strict regulations, food-taboos and abstinence from work of all sorts, until the child's navel-string has fallen off. Any violation of the regulations, especially these of a dietetic nature, is believed to bring on severe sickness or the death of the child. As far as the young mother is concerned, no restrictions are imposed upon her, and after a bath, she attends again to her accustomed duties.
9. *Culture-history and history*. In his article on "Kulturgeschichte und Geschichte," in *Logos* (vol. 3, 1912, pp. 192-205), Karl Vossler, who has discussed in a previous number the relations of the history of language and the history of literature, treats of the history of civilization in its connections with history. According to V., culture-history is analytical, descriptive, explanatory; history proper is synthetic, narrative and interpretative. The distinction is parallel to that made by grammarians between the *Imparfait* and the *Passé défini* as verbal expressions of the past,—the one is analytic, descriptive, explanatory, the other synthetic, narrative, interpretative. In the words of the author, "one might not improperly define the *Imparfait* as the culture-historical and the *Passé défini* as the historical tense. Zola's novels have everything in the *Imparfait*; the medieval tales, etc., everything is the *Passé défini*. The *Imparfait* is the auxiliary stream, the *Passé défini* the main stream. The former suits itself to the description of subordinate or accompanying circumstance and phenomena, scenery, *milieu*, motives, results, etc., what is fixed, remaining, backward, retro-

grade, what is already gone, the general, customary, insignificant, in short the hidden currents and secondary eddies of the main stream, the river-bed of history. The *Passé défini* suits itself finely to representing a progress in activity, the appearance of a nonce-occurring, peculiar, or significant, new, contingent, surprising and decisive event, in short, the purposive main stream of history, the happening in history.

10. *Flies as poison-carriers in obeah "magic."* In the *American Anthropologist* (vol. 14, N. S., 1912, pp. 572-574) for July-September, 1912. Austin H. Clark describes "An Ingenious Method of Causing Death Employed by the Obeah Men of the West Indies." A bottle is filled with chopped liver (human, if procurable, "on account of its enhanced moral effect") and left in some warm, moist spot for a few days. The decomposing liver attracts numerous blow-flies, who lay their eggs in it. When the bottle has become full of flies, the *obeah* man lets them loose in the house of the object of his spell at dark of night. As the people sleep naked and the Negro laborers, etc., are rarely free from cuts, abrasions, sores, etc., infection follows as a matter of course, and "the man soon dies in a characteristic way, which, in some communities at least, every one knows to be the result of the *obeah* man's mysterious but potent charm."

11. *French mind.* In his article, "Die Struktur des französischen Geistes," in *Logos* (vol. 3, 1912, pp. 80-102), Ernst Bernhard discusses the structure of the French mind. For France, according to B., the "classic" period, "the national time *par excellence*, is the eighteenth century,—everything that went before points to it; everything that followed, harks back to it." Characteristic of French thought and action is the predilection for centralization, uniformity, the endeavor to bring life under general schemata and abstract norms. This is true not only of politics and governmental institutions and ideals, but appears in all other fields of human activities. Socialism, Esperanto, etc., flourish in France more than elsewhere. Even *rococo* art submits there to a certain nationalizing. The French language has evolved a style that exhibits the traits in question,—the existence of an Academy serves the same end. From the drama to horticulture one sees at work the same traits of the French mind. Symmetry and clarity, penetrative systematism and logic, retreating from no consequences, are specifically French mental qualities. The same path is trodden, whether it is a question of feudalism, religious wars, despotism, revolution or democracy. Through all French culture run certain unmistakable unitary traits. It has been said of the French that, in analogy with the principle of "art for art's sake," they have made a principle of "revolution for revolution's sake." Typical of the same *tendenz* is French fashion, etc. According to B., "the French are a people of language; for them a word, an idea, has a charm and a value in itself; language, and its permanent precipitate, litera-

ture, stand in the center of French culture; they reflect its basic tendencies as in a focus."

12. "*Happy hunting-ground.*" In the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (vol. 25, 1912, pp. 66-71) the Rev. John W. Chapman has an article on "The Happy Hunting-Ground of the Ten'a." The Ten'a are an Athapaskan tribe of the Lower Yukon in Alaska. In 1887, at a little Indian village in this region, when the natives "were living in a nearly primitive condition," and "their legends, customs and traditions were nearly all of a primitive character," Mr. Chapman, although the Indians were very reticent about their beliefs and ideas concerning a future life, got on the track of the legend relating thereto. And "after nearly a quarter of a century of daily intercourse with its guardians, it was run to earth in a dug-out on the bank of a tributary of the Yukon." To these Indians, "He has gone up the river" called up the story of one who had been taken to the country of the dead, upon returning from which she told a long story of her adventures. This whole story, "without embellishment," is given on pages 67-71. The Indians have "a belief that the soul goes downward into the earth at death, and finds a trail leading up the Yukon to some city of the dead near its sources." This woman was given the choice of returning to her own people or remaining in the other world. She chose to go back, and floated down the Yukon on an enormous log. It is because of what she told the people concerning the other world that "the *parka* feasts have been celebrated, and offerings of food and drink made for the dead, in order that they may not suffer for the want of anything that we can do for them." The tale ends with this statement:

"Now as to the log upon which the girl came down the Yukon, it came from the place where the dead are, to this world where we live; and as to the white men who are coming into this country in such numbers, they can do with impunity things that would kill an Indian, because they are the spirits of dead Indians, who have come back to live among us."

13. "*Heaven*" of warriors. It is commonly supposed that when a savage or a barbarous people fond of fighting in this world conceive of a future life as possible they place the souls of the warriors in the highest "heaven." In his brief account of "The Muriks," a tribe of Sarawak in Borneo, published in *The Sarawak Museum Journal* (vol. 1, 1911, pp. 146-148), R. S. Douglas informs us that "Long Kendi is the name of the heaven to which the souls of mankind go, and all go there with the exception of those who have been killed in warfare, and of women who have died in child-birth. Long Kendi is ruled by Iju Ipoi, a semi-deity, and no work is done there; the paddy grows of its own accord and everything is bliss." On the road to this "heaven" stands a guardian spirit, named Ilah Buhan, who, when a warrior appears, "turns him down a rocky path, which leads to the country of Pohun Nang, ruled by Lawai Linga,

where there is always war and famine, so that these restless spirits can indulge themselves to their heart's content." These heavens are distinct from the heaven where dwell the numerous deities of the Muriks, reigned over by their supreme being, Bali Peselong—the souls of no mortals go there. As the author remarks: "It is curious that a people who have indulged in fighting and head-hunting to such an extent should apportion the inferior future life to those who die on the field of battle." But this is rather a human way of looking at it, and one is hardly surprised to learn that the creation-story of the Muriks simply states that "there were two original beings, one male and one female, who had a large family, the youngest of which became the chief."

14. "Hell" and "heaven" in folk-wit. In a brief article on "Die Hölle der Schneider und der Himmel der Müller," in the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (vol. 10, 1911, pp. 205-207), Edward Schröder discusses the interesting expressions "the tailors' hell," and "the miller's heaven." The former is still widespread in the popular reproach made against the tailor that he causes to disappear "into hell," large pieces of the materials given him to make up into clothes. A place in the work-room, under the tailor's seat, sewing originally for the depositing of refuse pieces of cloth, etc., is known as "hell," and has connected with it a number of proverbial expressions in various parts of Germany. The dictionaries, however, assign no great antiquity to the term "tailors' hell," the lexicon of Grimm citing only Goethe and (past Paul Heyse) Jean Paul. S. thinks that possibly the expression "hell" may have originally been applied to any sort of a partitioned-off place or the like, and then transferred to the tailor's shop. The term "hell" is a record for a space in the forepart of a ship used for the storing away of all sorts of things,—Hans Sachs employs the word in this sense. But folk-wit at the expense of the tailor appears also in the term "tailors' eye" (*Schneiderauge*), which is on record as donating the same suspicious hole near the tailor, and which probably antedates the transference of the word "Hölle" from its general significance to its particular meaning with the tailor. An interesting parallel expression is "millers' heaven,"—the miller, too, has fallen under the reproach of the folk. In the Middle Ages the millers had managed to get more than their proper share of the meal for grinding the wheat, by unfair practices and devices. One of these devices was termed "the millers' heaven." It is described as a wooden construction of some sort that allowed more than was his share of the meal to be appropriated by the miller. In fact, it corresponds to the "tailors' hell." This folk-wit at the expense of the miller seems to have been quite overlooked by those who studied the humor of the folk.
15. *Last vestige of Puritanism.* In an article in *The School Review* (vol. xx, 1912, pp. 161-169), entitled "The Last Vestige of Puri-

tanism in the Schools of Massachusetts," J. Mace Andress treats of the Puritan attitude toward children, and "the last vestige" of Puritanism, a law of 1862 (still in force, as contained in the revised laws of the Commonwealth relating to public education, printed at Boston in 1909), ordaining that "a portion of the Bible shall be read daily in the public schools, without written note or oral comment." According to Mr. Andrews, "Massachusetts, the original home of Puritanism in America, is the only state of the New England group that has such a law on the statutes," and "this law, with its flavor of medievalism, seems to be quite generally enforced, especially in the upper grades and in the high schools." Also, "the great majority of the people of Massachusetts would strenuously defend the old custom of the daily reading of the Bible in the public schools." The principal objection urged against this law is a pedagogical one, namely, that if an understanding and appreciation of the Bible are aimed at, such an object is defeated by the provision that the reading shall be "without written note or oral comment." Not so many years ago a selection of passages from the Bible, to be read by the teacher, without note or comment, was compiled by agreement of Protestants and Catholics and authorized by the Minister of Education for use in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario. It can hardly be said that the reading of the Bible by law in public schools is everywhere a "vestige of Puritanism."

16. *Locust and grasshopper superstitions.* In a brief article, "Die Heuschrecke im Aberglauben," published in the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (vol. 11, 1912, pp. 207-215) Dr. Eugen Fehrle treats of some of the superstitions, of the ancients in particular concerning locusts and grasshoppers. They were looked upon as omens of evil portent (plague, war, etc.). It was to a kind of locust that the ancient Greeks gave the name of "prophetess," *μαντις*, and on an old Egyptian stone amulet in the British Museum a locust appears among other evil-warding animals. The use of locust-amulets in the Orient was quite widespread. They protected man against diseases of the urinary organs (in women especially), against earache, against bites of scorpions. Warts were cured by having a grasshopper bite them. In the book of the prophet Joel and the Apocalypse of John locusts appear as creatures endowed with supernatural powers. The Greeks, Romans, and Orientals had many "charms," etc., for driving away locusts. Some of these the author cites on pages 209-215, from the *Geoponica*, an old cyclopedia of husbandry, really composed in the 4th century, B. C., made into a Corpus by Cassianus Bassus in the 6th century, and republished in almost unchanged form, in the 10th century by order of the Emperor Konstantinos Porphyrogenetes.
17. *Modern American religious song-ballads.* In the course of his article on "Balladry in America," published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (vol. 25, 1912, 1-23), Professor H. M. Belden calls

attention (p. 17) to the existence of religious song-ballads, such, e. g., as the following:

"The Romish Lady (or Roman Lady)"

"The Little Family"

"The Wicked Girl"

"The Railroad to Heaven."

The "Romish Lady," the author tells us, "is a piece of aggressive Protestantism that carries us straight back to the Book of Martyrs." In "The Little Family," we have the story of the raising of Lazarus. "The Wicked Girl," and the corresponding ballad for the other sex,—there are two forms,—"one for man, and one for maid," treat of Hell, and "present the terrors of damnation with a vigor not unworthy of Michael Wigglesworth." The version for men begins thus:

"Death is a melancholy call,
A certain judgment for us all;
Death takes the young as well as old
And lays them in his arms so cold.
'Tis awful—awful—awful."

That for women commences:

"Young people hear and I will tell,
A soul I fear has gone to Hell;
A woman who was young and fair,
Who died in sin and dark despair."

Of "The Railroad to Heaven," Professor Belden says: "It was perhaps composed for revival meetings of railroad-men, but is certainly not restricted to them. By a quite elaborate allegory, the process of salvation is presented under the figure of a railway journey in which Christ is the engineer. This piece exists in widely different forms." In a foot-note, the author adds: "Several religious song-ballads have appeared in print from time to time describing the Christian's way to heaven under the similitude of a railway journey or a voyage on shipboard" (p. 19). As Emma C. Backus has pointed out, in her article on "Early Songs from North Carolina" (*Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. 14, pp. 286-294), religious song-ballads are also reported from that State.

18. Peruvian "*Prometheus Bound*." In the course of an interesting account of his "*Archäologische Reise in Süd- und Mittel-Amerika*," in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (vol. 44, 1912, pp. 204-242), Dr. Eduard Seler, the distinguished Americanist, describes a curious painting in red and white upon a clay vase now in the collection of Dr. Gaffron, in Lima. The painting represents a dead man bound to a post, with four vultures preparing to attack the corpse. One vulture, indeed, is already devouring, not his liver, as was the case with the classical Prometheus, but his penis. Similar pictures of

naked prisoners occur very frequently on ancient Peruvian pottery from the region of Trujillo. Dr. Seler calls attention to the account of the mythological beliefs of the people of the valley of Pacasmayo or Pacatnamu, north of Trujillo, given in the second chapter of the third book of his *Crónica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú* (Barcelona, 1638), by P. Antonio de Calancha, who was a priest there for a long time. These Indians held in special reverence two stars known as *Patá*,—the groups is the Spanish “Las (tres) Marias,” the stars forming the belt of Orion. Concerning the star in the middle the story ran that “it was an evil-doer, whom the Moon wished to punish, and had therefore sent the two stars to bring him ‘bound (by the arms),’ this is the meaning of *patá*,—and thrown for food to the vultures (*i. e.* the four stars under the Marias.) We seem to have here a case of the illustration in ceramic ornamentation of ancient Peruvian legendary lore. *Si*, the Moon, was the chief deity of these Indians.

19. *Prehistoric carts and ploughs.* In a brief article in the *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (6e S., T. II, 1911, pp. 379-385), M. G. Courty discusses “Le chariot et la charrue à l'époque préhistorique.” According to C., certain cruciform signs among the petroglyphs of the department of Seine-et-Oise, of prehistoric date (probably neolithic) really represent carts and ploughs. The same interpretation, he thinks, must be made of similar rock-sculptures elsewhere,—*e. g.*, at the Lac des Merveilles, in certain parts of Norway, etc. At the Roche du Bois des Fonceaux, at the so-called “Trou du Sarrasin,” at Villeneuve-sur-Anvers, and other places are these schemata of ploughs and carts. On pages 380 and 382 the author reproduces a number of these primitive sculptures which he considers to be intended for drawings of ploughs or of carts of a prehistoric sort. And on page 386, in connection with another paper on “La hutte à l'époque préhistorique” (*Ibid.*, pp. 385-390), he gives a picture of a type of plough still in use in the southern part of the department of Lot, closely resembling, in general form, the “ploughs” of the prehistoric rock-sculptures of Seine-et-Oise.” That this prehistoric cross with cupules at the ends always represents “ploughs” or “carts” may be well doubted. In the discussion on M. Courty's paper M. Baudouin agreed that such figures in the Bronze Age in Scandinavia, the Alpes-Maritimes, etc., might denote ploughs or carts, but a goodly number of them were simply “modified swastikas,”—they are “the four rays of the sun, of which one has been elongated to indicate the course of the sun.” According to M. Courty, these Latin crosses representing ploughs and carts are widespread in western Europe.
20. *Richard Andree's contributions to the study of religion, etc.* The late Dr. Richard Andree (1860-1912) left behind him a list of his writings compiled by himself with notes of his own on their impor-

tance and significance. This Bibliography has appeared, since his death, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (vol. 44, 1912, pp. 338-353). Of books, monographs, articles, etc., relating to religion and closely cognate topics the following may be mentioned here:

1. Die Flutsagen. Ethnographisch betrachtet. Braunschweig, 1891. Pp. ix, 152.

2. Braunschweiger Volkskunde. Braunschweig, 1896. Pp. vii, 385. Also second, enlarged edition (1901), pp. 531.

3. Votive und Weihgaben des katholischen Volkes in Süddeutschland. Ein Beitrag zur Völkerkunde. Braunschweig, 1904. Pp. xviii, 191.

4. Katholische Überlebens bei dem evangelischen Volke. *Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, 1911, pp. 113-125.

5. Menschenschädel als Trinkgefäße. *Ibid.*, 1912, pp. 1-33.

6. Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche. Stuttgart, 1878. Pp. xii, 303.

7. Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche. Neue Folge. Leipzig, 1889. Pp. 273.

His work on *Deluge-Myths*, in which 88 legends were enumerated, was about the first ethnographic study of its kind. Dr. Andree took the view that there was no one, common origin of the deluge-legends, which were to be attributed to various natural causes. His *Folk-Lore of Brunswick* was the work that was most pleasing to him of all his publications; and it is an interesting and valuable contribution to the scientific study of German folk-lore and folk-life. The two series of *Ethnographic Parallels* treated of a large number of topics in which the likenesses and the resemblances of human minds in all regions of the globe were illustrated and discussed: Bird-omens, scape-goat, evil-eye, werewolf, food-taboos, skull-cult, mourning-customs, lunacy and possession, sympathetic magic, thunder-bolts, hunter-superstitions, games, masks, circumcision, red hair,—these and a number of other subjects were treated, often at considerable length. His monograph on *Votive Gifts and Offerings* is, in its way, unique and a significant addition to the literature of the ethnology of religion.

21. *Shintoism*. In the *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie* (vol. 6, 1912, pp. 57-70), K. Kanokogi treats of "Der Shintoismus und seine Bedeutung." History, meaning of *Shinto*, basis of Shinto religion (a nature-religion), sociological and psychological significance. Shintoism has a future as a protective spirit of the nation, so long as the peoples of the world rely on armies and fleets and believe in war and brute force, but it can never become a positive religion. Concentrated into Chauvinism, however, it will become a hindrance to real development. In its very diffuseness it has served as a progressive impulse, whence flowed all the virtues, etc. With mere provincialism the life of Shintoism,—“die Sehnsucht nach Mehr,”—will be lost. The background of Shintoism is “nature-religion,” a form of belief in which nature and man and man and the gods are hardly dis-

tinguishable. Man seems to be "a part of nature," and nature "an extended humanity." All things are gods (mountains, forests, rivers, seas, sun, moon, etc.). The Japanese islands were born of a divine couple and only after this did the gods themselves come into existence, —and they are mostly nature-gods, deities of wind, storm, rain, fire, field, spring, etc. As to the interpretation of the Japanese word for "God," *Kami*, there is some difference of opinion still, but K. considers that it signifies "above," "the One who is above." Thus, the chief of a small tribe is called "a *Kami* of the country;" and all princes and rulers style themselves *Kami*. Of a recent book by a missionary named Schiller, *Shinto, die Volksreligion Japans* (Berlin, 1911), K. says that it ought to have been named rather *Volksaberglauben Japans* since the author has picked up superstitions at haphazard and mixed indifferently high and low, permanent and transitory, essential and trivial, etc.

22. *Suicide of General Nogi*. The suicide of General Nogi and his wife, by the old Japanese method of *harakiri*, in connection with the Emperor's funeral, September 13, 1912, has been the subject of much comment and discussion in the public press, the pulpit and elsewhere throughout the civilized world. The matter is treated briefly by F. Baldenne, in his article, "Le suicide du Général Nogi," in the *Mercure de France* (vol. 100, 1912, pp. 86-93),—the author was in Tokio when the event occurred. General Nogi's suicide cannot be interpreted as a mere survival of the ancient and cruel *haniwa* or as an example merely of a *junshi* carried out by traditional obedience to the ancient *bushido* code of the *samurai*. Japan of 1912 is clearly no longer Japan of 1877, and other human elements doubtless influenced the great Japanese soldier to commit self-murder. It is idle, too, to say as did the *London Times*, that General Nogi's suicide "simply proved the impassable abyss separating the Orient from the Occident." General Nogi was a Shintoist and a patriotic Japanese, and something beyond both of these. In the comments of some of the leaders of Japanese thought upon this event one sees an effort, perhaps, to draw a lesson inculcating the superiority of mind over matter, rather than simply the exceptional survival or revival of an ancient custom,—in other words, an attempt to place this particular Japanese suicide in the long list of suicides of great men, whose act of self-destruction has been more human than ceremonial, more universal than racial. They have attempted to lift it into the realm of *moral* events, just as the Occidental apologists for suicide have done for century after century, with their own self-slain. It is interesting to learn that General Nogi bequeathed his body "to a good medical school," but this wish was not carried out, and it was placed in the little house at Akasaka and hundreds of thousands of people made pilgrimages thither during the interval between death and burial. And when the funeral took place, on Sept. 18, it is said that 50,000 people, accompanied the remains to the

grave. The ashes of General Nogi are now in Aoyama close to the tombs of his two sons, the loss of whom during the war with Russia, can hardly have been entirely without influence upon his death.

23. *Tau-cross.* When the University of Giessen celebrated its 300th anniversary in 1907, one of the festive ornaments, given to all participants was a T-pin, representing the heraldic symbol of that educational institution. The history and signification of this symbol are the subject of Dr. Richard Wünsch's article on "Das Antoniterkreuz," in the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (vol. 11, 1912, pp. 49-63). The University of Giessen seems to have adopted the tau-cross, as its heraldic symbol about 1736 (this is the time of its first appearance in academic documents), taking it from the monkish order of St. Antonius (hence the term "Antoniterkreuz"), whose symbol it was, probably because the University had inherited the revenues of the former Antonine cloister at Grünberg (Hesse). This cross figures in the foundation-legend of the Order, which was confirmed by Pope Urban II, in 1095. The *tau* had, from the 13th century almost down to the present day a great reputation as an amulet against the plague, as has been pointed out by Marie Andree-Eysn, in her *Volkskundliches aus dem bayrisch-österreichischen Alpengebiet* (Braunschweig, 1910), of which pages 63-72 are devoted to "The Tau and the Plague-amulet." Some authorities trace back this use of the T to the passage in the Book of Ezekiel, where "making a sign (Hebrew *taw*) on the forehead" is mentioned,—but the Hebrew term, rendered by the Septuagint as *σημεῖον*, does not mean specifically a cruciform sign, but simply a "sign." If the T-idea goes back to this Biblical passage, therefore, it is due to a misunderstanding or a misinterpretation. Certain Oriental amulets, whose early and wide distribution preclude any origin of their use or significance from the passage in Ezekiel, may be of importance here. These consist of a *tau* on the top of which rests a ring with an opening at one side,—practically identical with the ancient Egyptian *crux ansata*, the symbol of "life,"—the cross seems to be older than the ring in this particular symbol. There is some evidence that the "Egyptian" cross drifted into early Christianity. Isidore, *e. g.*, informs us that the sign T attached to the name of a soldier in the military lists, indicated that the bearer was alive. In part the "cross of St. Antonius" may be traced to the Book of Ezekiel, but in part it also has an older, Oriental origin along with the Egyptian *crux ansata*.
24. *Women and plant-growth.* In his article "Flachssaat und Frauen," in the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (vol. 11, 1912, pp. 16-23) Dr. Heinrich Marzell brings together data concerning the German and Slavonic belief that women can influence the growth of flax and cites a number of ceremonies and usages, some of them very ancient, expressive of this idea, that the fertility of women and the

fertility of vegetation are closely related. Processions of naked young women around the flax-field, the addressing to the flax of a "speech" by women, the import of which is sexual in tone, and brief dialogues, similarly significant, between men and women, etc., are among the usages known in Thuringia, Meiningen, West and East Prussia, the Bavarian-Bohemian border. Urine and menstrual blood also figure in some of these growth-rites,—urinating by young or naked women being thought to exert a powerful influence on the growing flax. Rolling about on the flax-field by women (naked, originally) is another device to the same effect. The curious connection of some of these flax-growth ceremonies with the Magdalene (her day is often the time of celebration), is noteworthy. In one "flax-song," the flax is asked to grow

"So heel und so klor

Wie d'r Magdalene ihr Hor."

In Austrian Silesia the young woman who enters the flax-field for the first time must jump as high as she can, so that the flax will grow real high. In some places women alone plant flax, else it would never thrive.

